The depiction and role of single combat and battle in Stricker's 'Karl der Grosse' and 'Daniel von dem Bluehenden Tal.' : literary traditions and contemporary martial influences

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The Depiction and Role of Single Combat and Battle in Stricker's *Karl der Grosse* and *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*: Literary Traditions and Contemporary Martial Influences.

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the depiction and role of military conflict in Stricker's two longer narrative works. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the structure and role of single combat in medieval literature, paying special attention to the possible influence of the judicial combat. Chapter 3 analyses the single combats in *Karl* and establishes a scheme of repeated motifs for their depiction. Considering the single combats in *Daniel* in the light of this scheme, Chapter 4 demonstrates their diverse character and shows how changes in detail alter the role of each encounter. In particular, Daniel's combats against monstrous opponents are seen to contradict the concept, present in *Karl*, that combat can resolve all critical situations.

Chapter 5, mirroring Chapter 2, discusses the more complex structure and role of battles in medieval literature, taking into account the possible influence of the tournament on their depiction. Chapter 6 analyses the battles in *Karl*, and compares these with the battles in the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Rolandslied*, and *Willehalm*. It is demonstrated that Wolfram's text is unlikely to have been a source for the battle depictions in *Karl*. Chapter 7 shows that the battles in *Daniel* differ radically in structure and in detail from those in *Karl*, the *Rolandslied*, *Willehalm*, and a range of other relevant texts, and that they resemble more closely the battles in Lamprecht's *Alexander*. Examination of the imagery used in the accounts of battle in *Daniel*, together with consideration of the function of the concept of *list*, reveals that the battles in *Daniel*, like the single combats, have a different significance than those in *Karl*. In *Karl*, Stricker portrays combat as the inevitable and unquestioned response to the crises that arise, but in *Daniel* this point of view is challenged by the depiction of situations which defy resolution by combat alone.

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1. Introduction

Combat is one of the most important themes of medieval German narrative literature. It is a theme that spans literary traditions, from the mass battles of the epic to the ritualised single combats of the romance. The heroes of both epic and romance are almost exclusively fighting men, distinguished from their peers by their prowess at arms. In this, German literature follows the model of its Old French counterpart (Pintaric, 1994).

Whether the combat depicted in a medieval text consists of a relatively short encounter between two individuals or of a long-drawn-out battle involving large armies, it serves the same fundamental purpose: to establish the prowess of one combatant, or one group of combatants, in comparison above all with their opponent(s) in the combat or battle at hand, but also possibly with other individuals or groups within the text, and in some cases, arguably, in other texts of the time. Battles in particular are also often used as a means of measuring the protagonists' virtue or the righteousness of the cause which they represent against the villainous character or motivation of their opponents. The same applies frequently to instances of single combat. For this reason it is not surprising that, in the literary texts, combat, in the form both of battle and of the individual encounter, often becomes the means of establishing justice, as in the historical tradition of the judicial combat. In the depiction of single combats the issues are on occasion not so clear-cut; the hero may, for example, find himself knowingly or unknowingly confronting a friend or kinsman (Harms, 1963), or may take part in ritualised combat designed purely to test his abilities against those who are in social and moral terms his equals. In each case of combat, however, the audience is invited to judge the hero or heroes on their performance in the employment of arms.

Given the centrality of combat to medieval literature – and indeed to medieval society – it seems strange that few studies have so far attempted a detailed analysis of the literary depictions of combat itself. Bode (1909) and Grundmann (1939) both study the vocabulary used to express the different stages of single combat in German texts. Rychner (1955) identifies the 'building-blocks' or motifs used to describe single combats in the *Chanson de Roland* and other *chansons de geste*, but his study aims more to illustrate the use of repeated phrases and concepts in the

construction of poetry based on oral transmission than to explore the content of these passages itself. Other studies, following his model, identify motifs in the depiction of individual instances of combat, or in a group of combats (for example Hitze (1965) and Heinemann (1973)), but do not pursue the opportunity this approach provides for a wider comparison of the depiction of combat in literary texts. A comparative approach to the depiction of combat is clearly possible, largely because of the general tendency of medieval authors to depict the same types of combat in their different works. With few exceptions, the weapons preferred (by the hero at least) are the lance and the sword, he is armoured and carries a shield, which is frequently destroyed during the course of the combat, and he begins the combat, typically, on horseback. Even non-knightly opponents faced by the hero, such as giants, fight in a way that generally fits a standard pattern, and the weapons they use often seem to be governed by tradition. A comparative approach allows not only for identification of such patterns, but also for recognition of those points at which the narrator breaks with tradition.

Rychner's concept of the repeated motif forms the basis for the methodology I use in this study, which aims to approach the depiction of combat inclusively, noting all of the motifs used, rather than exclusively, focusing only on a few. This approach is used in the case of single combats to establish a scheme of the motifs used (a structure made up of repeated formulae or motifs). Schemes can be established on several levels, first, for each individual combat in a given text, secondly, for one or more sub-sets of the combats described (for example, combats beginning with a joust with lances), and thirdly, for all of the combats depicted in the text. A similar approach is used in the case of battles, or mêlée combat, which can be reduced to their constituent phases, in which individual motifs may again be identified. This approach allows for variation within the text, while at the same time creating an overall picture of the author's approach to the depiction of combat, which can then be compared with that used by other authors. This methodology is described in more detail in the relevant sections of this study.

The texts on which this study focuses are Stricker's *Karl der Grosse* and *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*, both written during the first half of the thirteenth century.[1] Stricker's other works include the humorous *Pfaffe Âmîs*, animal fables and other moral tales, and reflect the world of the mercantile classes as much as of the aristocracy. This is a wide range not only of traditions but of narrative voices, and it marks Stricker out as an inventive author, familiar with many strands of contemporary literature. *Karl* and *Daniel*, his two long works, are ideally suited for comparison in that they belong to different traditions, and in some senses can be said to have little in common except that they both contain descriptions of single combat and – unusually in the case of *Daniel* – of battle.

To date, studies have placed little emphasis on the depiction of combat in either text. Amman (1902) and von der Burg (1974) study *Karl* in relation to the *Rolandslied*; their studies cover the battle scenes but place no emphasis on the depiction of combat, either single combat or mêlée. Pingel (1994) gives perhaps the most detail on the combats in *Daniel*, but pays them no especial attention, while Hahn (1985) examines the use of linguistic devices and metaphor during the course of the *Daniel* battles, but does not examine the battles in further detail.

Stricker's *Karl* is a straightforward revision of Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied* (von der Burg, 1974), and belongs to a tradition that can be traced back to the French *chansons de geste*, and to the *Chanson de Roland* in particular. Neither Konrad's nor Stricker's reworkings of the Roland story differ greatly in terms of plot from the original French version, although both German versions revise the descriptions of the battles considerably, giving much greater importance to the depiction of mêlée, or mass, combat than does the French author. There are differences between the depictions of battle in the two German versions, as will be demonstrated later, but also many similarities.

The combats portrayed in *Karl* are likewise straightforward, consisting of two battles and a number of single combats. The great majority of these single combats take place during the

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[1] The relative chronology of *Karl* and *Daniel* has not been conclusively established. Rosenhagen (1890), argues that the first version of *Karl* was written before *Daniel*, basing his argument on a comparison with the *Rolandslied*. Resler, on the other hand, sees *Daniel* as the earlier text, based on details of the presentation of direct speech in the two texts (Resler, 1984, 29). I take no particular position on this issue, and the order in which I treat the two texts in this study should not be taken to indicate any opinion in this regard.

course of the battles between Christian and Saracen protagonists, and the only weapons used are the lance and the sword. This makes *Karl* the ideal starting-place for this study, since it allows for comparison between the individual single combats as well as between the two battles and their constituent phases.

Daniel on the other hand has always been regarded as something of a problematic text that displays influence from several different traditions of medieval literature. Its setting marks it out as an example of the Arthurian romance tradition, and indeed its similarities to Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein* have been frequently noted (see Rosenhagen (1890), Kern, (1974)). However, it includes figures reminiscent of the German epics, such as the dwarf Juran, and monsters that appear to be of Stricker's own invention. It also includes an emphasis on the qualities of *list* and *wîsheit. Daniel* also contains a sequence of four battles, which are described at length, and which have no model in the works of Hartmann or of Wolfram. It has generally been assumed that the German epic tradition, or the Roland material itself, was the inspiration for these passages, although this assumption is not entirely warranted.

Aside from the battles, *Daniel* features several depictions of single combat, including combats between knights, combats against giants, a combat against a dwarf, and a series of encounters against monsters in which actual combat plays a smaller and smaller role. It is plain even from this brief account that the combats in *Daniel* are considerably more difficult to classify than those in *Karl*. Nevertheless, the very disparity of the combats in *Daniel* allows for comparison with a broader range of texts than is productive when studying *Karl*, and this allows for an in-depth exploration of the traditions which influenced Stricker's romance.

Although literature provides the most likely sources for Stricker's descriptions of single combat and battle, the potential importance of influence from contemporary instances of actual combat should not be underestimated. The details of the battles in *Karl* and *Daniel* may be compared fruitfully with what is known of contemporary tactics both in battle and in the tournament, and the influence of the judicial combat tradition on medieval literature (and possibly vice versa) is clearly apparent. Where possible, I investigate the links between historical martial practice and Stricker's work. This study aims, then, to investigate the

depictions of single combat and battle in Stricker's *Karl* and *Daniel*, in the light of other literary texts as well as of contemporary martial influences.

2 Analysing single combats

2.1 The structure of the single combat

Detailed study of the depiction of combat has not played a major part in the research into Middle High German texts. As a result, there have been few attempts to identify structures in the depiction of single combats. However, a series of studies has identified certain elements that recur in several texts.

Bode (1909) remarks on the fundamental difference between descriptions of combat in the German courtly and epic traditions, which emphasise respectively the lance and the sword (Bode, 1909, 5-6). He compiles a list of the elements found in the depictions first of combat with the lance, and then of combat with the sword, devoting attention to the phraseology used to describe various important elements in and associated with the combat, such as the Mass said before the encounter, the sparks flying from the clash of the sword-blades and the drawing of blood.

Likewise, Grundmann (1939) sees a development in the depiction of combat following the introduction of courtly styles and themes. His study, however, focuses on the combat with the lance, in which he perceives a trend towards the concept of knightly combat as embodying an aesthetic ideal. Combat descriptions were extended, more figurative and descriptive vocabulary was introduced, and a certain degree of grim 'realism' was lost (Grundmann, 1939, 1-18).

Grundmann follows the development of the new, 'courtly' vocabulary through a number of broadly defined phases: the initial charge, the bearing of the knight, the aiming of the lance and the moment of striking, the breaking of the lance, and the collision, together with the unhorsing of the opponent. His account of each phase begins with a brief description of the actions covered, and then examines various alternative terms used in the depiction from a selection of earlier and later medieval texts.

Although Bode and Grundmann both recognise the existence of elements in the description of combat which remain constant throughout each text and between different texts, neither concludes that these elements could form a structure or a scheme which could serve to

highlight differences and similarities between the individual passages. The first study to recognise the existence of a structure in descriptions of combat was concerned not with Middle High German, but with Old French texts, and combat was not its main focus.

In his study of the narrative form of the *chansons de geste*, Rychner (1955) establishes the existence of repetitive structures, both in the form of the *laisses* of each *chanson* and in the motifs used in the narratives. His thesis is that these structures were designed to enable on-the-spot improvisation during oral presentation of the *chansons* (Rychner, 1955, 26-36). He illustrates his argument with a brief examination of the themes, elements and motifs which are used to portray battle and combat (Rychner, 1955, 126-53, see also Ashby-Beach, 1985, who follows Rychner's model).

For Rychner, each motif portraying an aspect of combat forms a constellation of 'éléments', all of which share the stereotypical, repetitive nature of the whole, and each of which could easily be drawn upon in composition. However, the motif to which Rychner, like Grundmann, devotes most attention is the lance attack, which he divides into seven individual elements (Rychner, 1955, 139):

1: Spurring/urging on the horse
2: 'Brandir la lance'[2]
3: Striking
4: Piercing the opponent's shield
5: Piercing the opponent's hauberk/breastplate
6: Transpiercing the opponent, injuring him slightly, or missing altogether
7: Throwing the opponent (usually dead) from his horse

Rychner goes on to compare the formulae and vocabulary used in elements 1 and 4 in combats from a variety of *chansons*, demonstrating the *jongleurs*' preference for particular set motifs in the depiction of combat (Rychner, 1955, 141-46). He is careful to point out that this series of elements follows a poetic rather than a military order, but it should be noted that the order of the description itself does follow the logical procedure of a lance attack.

The focus of Rychner's study is not the creation of a scheme that can be applied to many instances of single combat. However, Rychner's study is the basis for others which examined

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[2] Rychner gives no explanation for this element of the lance combat. One possible interpretation might be *brandishing* the lance (i.e. a repeated backwards and forwards motion of the lance to make the pennon more noticeable), see Heinemann (1974). Although this interpretation seems lexically quite promising, it does not take into account the probable difficulty of manoeuvring a heavy lance in one hand.

the concept of the combat scheme in more detail. Hitze (1965) uses Rychner's method in her study of combats in the *chansons de geste*, first defining different forms of combat, then focusing on the single combats. Again, Hitze's study is primarily linguistic, focusing on the terminology of the descriptions rather than on the outline of the combat itself. Nevertheless, Hitze's study does differ from Rychner's in the important respect that she includes elements of the combat with swords, thus forming a more general, universal scheme which could be applied in more instances. Her study, however, stops short of this application.

Heinemann (1973) also follows Rychner in examining single combats in the *chanson de geste* tradition, but focuses exclusively on the *Chanson de Roland*. Unlike Rychner or Hitze, Heinemann examines individual passages and descriptions of combat in detail, using Rychner's analysis as a basis. Heinemann sees the repetition of formulae or motifs as being used to create a lyrical effect: 'une véritable modulation musicale au niveau de la matière linguistique' (Heinemann, 1973, 3). He is also the first to differentiate specifically between the vocabulary and terminology used to express each combat motif and the essential combat motif itself: the 'messème'.[3]

This concept is supported by a close examination of the first ten single combats. Heinemann uses Rychner's model to compare the combats and draw more detailed conclusions, establishing for example that three of the descriptions are markedly longer than the other seven and which elements of the combat in each case account for the increased length (see Heinemann, 1973, 16-27). He also draws more attention to the detail of each individual combat than Rychner. The conclusions he draws from such detailed analysis, although ultimately directed towards his thesis of 'stylisation', raise several interesting points about the description of combat in general: the implications of the order in which Roland, Olivier and Turpin are first depicted fighting, the way in which the combat scheme may be used to alter the pace of the

[3] 'La formule exprime donc un des éléments traditionnels dans la narration du motif [...]. Le message diffère dans les deux formules, les détails varient, mais l'idée essentielle, ou le contenu stylisé, reste le même. C'est ainsi que nous croyons devoir inventer un mot qui exprime la notion du contenu stylisé, et nous suivrons l'exemple d'Eugène Dorfman pour inventer, sur le radical de «message», le terme «messème». Le messème est l'armature conceptuelle de la formule, une unité de message stylisée, et identique d'une formule à l'autre malgré les expressions variantes' (Heinemann, 1973, 12-13).

general description and enhance the audience's expectations, and last but not least the differences created by the lengthening or the shortening of the combat description.

Another study following Rychner's model is that of Halász (1980), applying Rychner's principles to the tradition of Arthurian romance, in particular Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide* and *Le Chevalier au Lion/Yvain*. Like Rychner, Halász is concerned with establishing structures and repetitions throughout the works concerned, and the examination of single combats occupies only the first chapter (Halász, 1980, 8-63).

Halász's study forms part of the research into the structures which make up the narrative of Chrétien's romances as part of the *molt bel conjointure* of *sens* and *matière* (*Erec et Enide* 9-14). As such, she is concerned not only with the element of linguistic repetition in various episodes of the texts, but also with establishing a scheme of motifs which can be applied to each occurrence of the episode in question.

The stages that Halász establishes in the depiction of single combat in Chrétien are as follows:

1: Encounter, presentation of protagonists
2: 'Enjeu' (motives of opponents)
3: Challenge
4: Exchange of blows
5: Result/conclusion
A: Onlookers' reactions
B: Discussion
X: Introduction
Y: Concluding passage

The stages are ordered as follows: X - 1 - (A - 2) - B - 3 - 4 - 5 - Y, with Stages X and Y forming a framework around the encounter. Of the other seven motifs, those marked 1-5 are obligatory, whereas A and B are described as 'facultatif'. The brackets around the motifs A and 2 indicate that these two motifs do not always follow in sequence (Halász, 1980, 8).

Halász's scheme differs from Rychner's or Heinemann's primarily in that she places little emphasis on the details of the combat itself; this is because the phases she recognises in the combat do not all appear in all of the descriptions of combat (Halász, 1980, 44-45). Halász's study focuses on the details of the combat which are given greater prominence by Chrétien: the inspiration of the protagonist by his lady, the question of mercy and the *enjeu*, or motivation for the entire combat.

Most recently, in his article on Hartmann's adaptation of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, M. H. Jones (1993) refers back to Rychner in order to demonstrate to what extent Chrétien draws on the *chanson de geste* tradition in his description of the single combat with the lance. The *chanson de geste* influence is traced back both directly and indirectly, through the tradition of the *romans d'antiquité* (Jones, 1993, 96). Jones provides examples from the *Chanson de Roland*, from the *Eneasroman* and from *Erec et Enide* in order to demonstrate the repetition of the same scheme in all three works. His scheme differs from Rychner's in one important respect: the element 'brandir la lance' has been removed, following the articles by Heinemann (see footnote 2). Jones's combat scheme is as follows:

1: Spurring the horse
2: Striking the opponent
3: Shattering his shield
4: Breaking or piercing his hauberk
5: Thrusting the lance into his body or just grazing it
6: Knocking him down from his horse, usually lifeless

Jones compares Chrétien's combat descriptions with those of Hartmann to establish that Hartmann draws on no comparable tradition in the depiction of the lance attack; however, in his depiction of the duel with the sword Hartmann is clearly aware of a greater number of motifs and conventions which come from the German tradition (M. H. Jones, 1993, 96).

Other studies have been inspired by Rychner, but concentrate on less central questions. Heinemann (1974) takes up the question of the most enigmatic of Rychner's 'éléments': 'brandir la lance', to which reference has already been made (see footnote 2). Other elements of the lance attack as described by Rychner have provoked interest. Ross (1951) examines the possible meanings of the common but difficult expression 'pleine sa hanste'. In the article 'L'originalité de Turoldus' (Ross, 1963), he compares the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* with historical sources to establish a reason for the preponderance of the lance attack in the text. Meanwhile, many of the other studies of warfare in medieval literature such as Czerwinski (1975) or Pütz (1971) take a wider view, either examining the place of single combats in battle or establishing the significance of the battle scene as a whole for the comprehension of the text. None of the studies mentioned above examine Stricker's single combats.

To date, the emphasis in the study of the description of combat has been largely on the lance attack, which features prominently in the *chanson de geste* tradition. Jones is alone in suggesting an application of a form of combat scheme to the duel with swords, which appears more often in the German tradition. Stricker's *Daniel* and *Karl* both display a mixture of French and German traditions, whether romance or epic, and in both we find descriptions of combat using both the lance and the sword.

From this overview of the critical literature, an approach modelled on Rychner's original concept is clearly applicable to a variety of texts. Stricker's *Karl* is an obvious subject for investigation, including as it does a series of fifty-three single combats which take place during the course of the two battles depicted in the text, as well as two longer single combats between Karl and Paligan and Dietrich and Pinabel. The scheme established from the single combats in *Karl*, which will be presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis, differs from Rychner's study in that it includes combats with both the lance and the sword. I also employ the term 'motif' differently from Rychner, using it to refer to the details of each encounter (which he refers to as 'éléments'). Following Heinemann, I base my understanding of each separate motif of the single combat not on the details of the terminology used, although points can be made on the use of vocabulary, but rather on the 'messème'.

2.2 The role of the single combat

Study of the single combat entails more than merely establishing the existence of the various motifs used in its depiction and the structure formed by these motifs. The function of the single combat in a text and its relevance for the development of plot and characterization are equally important.

Single combats are not all of the same length or of the same relevance for the narrative in which they are depicted. This can be seen clearly in *Karl*, where most of the single combats are depicted briefly and record no more than the confrontation between individual Christians and Saracens. Taken individually, these combats have little effect on the overall development of the narrative. In the Arthurian tradition, too, there are examples of single combats that do not have central narrative significance, encounters between knights designed to display their prowess in detail not only to each other but to the audience as well. These do, however, tend to have more significance than the single combats in *Karl* referred to above, since they usually involve the hero of the text, and hence serve to underline his status as hero (e.g. Erec v. Guivreiz, *Erec* 4318-505; Gahmuret v. Hiuteger, *Parzival* 37,12-38,12).

In both the epic and the romance traditions, there are other kinds of single combat which are given more prominence, usually being described at greater length, and these frequently also include elements of formalisation. These are combats in which the protagonists are fighting for a cause or for another individual, and these can be described as 'representative' combats. In the epic tradition, these often take the form of an encounter between the leaders of opposing armies, fought either before (or instead of) the battle itself, or at the climax of the mêlée. In the romance tradition, where the depiction of battles is rarer, representative combats may be agreed in advance by the protagonists, or the hero may happen upon a situation which requires resolution by combat (e.g. Erec v. Iders, *Erec* 676-1077; Iwein v. Gawan, *Iwein* 6895-7652).

Karl and *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* both include single combats that could be described as 'representative', fought between two monarchs with the intention of settling a dispute or of neutralising a threat. These are crucial to the narrative in both cases; the single combat between Karl and Paligan (*Karl* 10067-305), for instance, takes place at the end of the second battle in *Karl*, deciding the result of the entire battle. Once Paligan is killed, his army

flees in panic and is cut down (*Karl* 10301-32). The single combat between Artus and Matur in *Daniel*, on the other hand (*Daniel* 2959-3081), takes place before the first battle between their two armies, and it is the death of Matur that enrages his men to the point where they attack Artus's army (*Daniel* 3072-81).

Both of these single combats embody the conflict between the monarchs, and by extension between their two armies. In both cases, too, the victory of the 'good' opponent, Karl or Artus, is demonstrated over his 'evil' antagonist, Paligan or Matur. In *Karl* this conflict is closely bound up with the concept of the Holy War between Christians and Saracens.

Similar to the representative combat, but with several crucial differences, are combats which formally establish justice in a specific situation, or 'judicial' combats. These can be distinguished from the representative combats in that they are considerably more formalised, and are recognised by all taking part as legal process. One of the clearest examples of a judicial combat is fought by Dietrich and Pinabel in *Karl* (11885-2077). In this combat, the conflict is not only an underlying theme, it is also actualised in the process of the trial of Ganelon and the challenges issued by the two protagonists, and is apparent not only to the audience but also to the characters in the text. The divine intervention that enables Dietrich to overcome his more powerful opponent underlines the justness of Dietrich's cause.

There is, however, a problem with the classification of many 'judicial' combats. Since the essential conflict between good and evil which is central to the judicial combat is also present in other single combats, the term 'judicial combat' is frequently applied to any encounters in medieval German literature which have the function of settling disputes. However, the terms 'judicial combat' and 'judicial combat tradition' are often misused, since there were several forms of combat that were designed to 'prove' right from wrong, both in medieval literature and in medieval life. It is clear that these had an influence on the depiction of single combat in literature, but it is important not to label as 'judicial' any literary depiction of combat with a

legitimising function without further investigation.[4] Given the confusion over this issue, it is necessary to establish exactly what constituted a medieval judicial combat.

[4] It seems highly probable that the influence between literary depictions and historical legal practice went both ways, and that the form of actual combats with judicial function was in part drawn from the depiction of such combats in the literature of the day.

2.3 The judicial combat

2.3.1 Types of 'juridical' combat

An analysis of the judicial duel or judicial combat in historical records, as in literature, is complicated by the fact that critical studies do not always make a clear distinction between types of single combat, and that many studies focus on one or two types without mentioning others. The vocabulary used is also frequently confusing: the judicial combat itself is also referred to as a judicial duel, as a trial by battle and as a juridical combat. Furthermore, the 'classical' judicial combat clearly did not exist in isolation; there is evidence of at least four different types of single combat in Western Europe and Scandinavia which could legitimately be called 'judicial', each with its own form and cultural background.

In order to ensure accuracy, the term 'judicial combat' must be used only to refer to encounters sharing the major features of the historical judicial combat. For the purposes of this study, other forms of legal combat will be referred to as 'juridical' combats. The outlines of the various forms of single combat which follow are presented in approximate chronological order of development and appearance. A more precise order is impossible, as many of the forms were in use at the same time across a range of geographical areas.

2.3.1.1 The battle of champions

This form of single combat appears in many varied traditions of literature, as well as in many cultures, and is examined closely by Parks (1990), who focuses on the relationship of verbal exchanges in such encounters to the physical combat. This custom is attested among the Gauls by Diodorus (Parks, 1990, 40). The form is as follows:

- Two armies are about to begin hostilities with the likelihood of great loss of life on each side.
- Two champions are chosen or volunteer to resolve the quarrel between themselves with the express motive of saving lives in the armies.
- The champions exchange taunts and/or challenges.
- The champions call on their deities.
- The combat takes place between the two armies, in full view.
- No interference is allowed.
- The combat continues until resolved by the death of one of the opponents.
- The end of the combat either prevents the battle or fails to do so because the losing army is either treacherous or motivated by the desire to avenge their champion.

As the encounter typically takes place either at the beginning or during the course of a battle there is no restriction placed on the types of weapons used.

This form of single combat differs from the judicial combat in that it does not form part of a legal procedure, although it typifies certain of the 'rules' of battlefield combat. However, confusion between the two forms frequently occurs; Bloomfield, 1969, 556, suggests that one could possibly identify the combat between Beowulf and Grendel as a 'judicial combat', although it has more in common with the battle of champions.[5] Medieval thought also appears to have confused the two forms of combat; Pope Nicolas I's statement that the Old Testament battle between David and Goliath could not be invoked as a justification for using the judicial combat implies that defenders of the process had wrongly defined the encounter of the two champions as a judicial combat (Bongert, 1949, 229). The confusion among twentieth-century critics may well be due to the use of the term 'champion' which is discussed below.

2.3.1.2 The *hólmganga*

The *hólmganga* is the first of the types of single combat that can actually be called juridical in that they formed part of the legal process and determined guilt or innocence. It is generally considered to have been largely confined to Scandinavia;[6] the surviving descriptions all come from the Icelandic sagas of the thirteenth century. It is difficult to date; although the sagas purport to depict events of the tenth and eleventh centuries, historical accuracy cannot be taken for granted (Bartlett, 1986, 105). The descriptions of the *hólmganga* in the sagas are, however, generally taken to be accurate depictions of legal procedures in the thirteenth century. The form of the *hólmganga* is as follows (Davidson, 1994, 206):

- The combatants agree to fight before magistrates.
- The combatants retire to an island (Old Icelandic: *hólm*) to prevent any interference.
- Cloaks are laid out on the ground to cover a specified area and stretched by hazel-rods driven into the ground (presumably at the corners).
- The combatants fight on foot.
- The combatants fight with swords.
- The combatants are allowed a set number of shields each.

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[5] Beowulf clearly takes on the role of champion with the intention of saving his comrades and Hrothgar's vassals. However, Grendel represents no-one, and as a monster would probably not be considered to have legal status.

[6] In the *Couronnement de Louis* Guillaume fights Corsolt in a battle of champions next to a river, while in various other *chansons de geste* judicial combats are fought on islands in the middle of rivers (see Pfeffer, 1885, 62). A similar episode in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* is discussed below.

•The combat continues until one or other of the combatants is wounded.
•The combatant whose blood first touches the cloaks is adjudged the loser.

Like the judicial combat, the process of *hólmganga* was originally supported by the Church but was later suppressed (Boyer, 1990, 177). The amount of regulation included in the form of the *hólmganga* also indicates that this was a well-established and sophisticated part of the legal system, unlike the battle of champions. It did not, however, feature an appeal to Divine justice (Bartlett, 1986, 114-15).

2.3.1.3 The judicial combat

The origins of the judicial combat as it was practised in the Middle Ages have often been discussed, and three issues in particular have been the subject of debate. First, there is the question whether the judicial combat was of pre-Christian origin or whether it was a result of the Christian legal system itself (Baist, 1890, 436-37).

Second, there is the question about the relationship between the judicial combat and the contemporary procedure of the feud. Baist, 1890, 437, regards the two as entirely separate phenomena, but Bongert sees the judicial combat as a reduction of the feud to a combat between two individuals instead of between two families (Bongert, 1949, 211).

Third, there is the question about the relationship between the judicial combat and the trial by ordeal, a contemporary legal procedure almost equally frowned on by the Church. Morris suggests that the judicial combat is simply a form of trial by ordeal (Morris, 1975, 98).[7] Bartlett follows much the same view but notes that the judicial combat has features distinct from any other ordeal (Bartlett, 1986, 103). Jackson also sees the judicial combat as belonging to the system of ordeals (Jackson, 1994, 263). Holzhauer makes the unusual suggestion that the ordeal is the older tradition, belonging to one of the settled agricultural groups of Indo-European peoples, whereas the judicial combat tradition was introduced by later groups of 'conquering' peoples (Holzhauer, 1986, 277).[8] Generally, however, critics seem either to

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[7] Morris (1975), Bartlett (1986) and especially Leitmaier (1953) all provide detailed descriptions of the process of the trial by ordeal.
[8] See Gál for a brief but comprehensive summary of the positions taken on this subject (Gál, 1907, 236-41).

approach the judicial combat as part of a study focusing on ordeals (Leitmaier, 1953), or to focus on the judicial combat without giving more than a brief mention to the ordeal (for example, Baist, 1809).[9]

Records of juridical combats of one form or another are found in a wide range of cultures including Greek, Roman, Germanic, Malaysian, Caucasian, Slavic, and even some African cultures (Nottarp, 1956, 269). The medieval judicial combat itself is recorded as a legal procedure in the law codes of the Burgundians, Lombards, Alamanni, Bavarians, Thuringians, Frisians and Saxons. Although it is not actually mentioned in the most ancient version of the *Lex Salica*, Bartlett suggests that it was also used by the Franks in the sixth century (Bartlett, 1986, 103-04). Baist differs, seeing the earliest occurrence of the judicial combat in the Burgundian *Gundebati* law-codes (Baist, 1890, 439).

The Church and clerical writers began by supporting or simply ignoring the process of judicial combat (Coulin, 1909, 32-33), but gradually criticisms were raised. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was an opponent of the process as was Yvo of Chartres (1040-1116) (Coulin, 1909, 37). From the mid-twelfth century onwards, the Church's attitude became increasingly hostile and a general condemnation was issued in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council (Nottarp, 1956, 271).

The main reason for this disapproval was the feeling that to demand that God deliver judgement at a specific time and place was a 'diabolica tentatio Dei', a 'praesumptio' and an 'anticipatio divini judicii' (Coulin, 1909, 39). There is also a certain suggestion that the judicial combat and the ordeal became popular as a spectacle for the onlookers, an attitude of which the Church would probably have strongly disapproved (see Bongert, 1949, 227-28). Nevertheless, the judicial combat continued until well into the fourteenth century and in some areas until much later; the final papal denouncement of the practice was in 1752 (Coulin, 1909, 37). However, increasingly during the latter half of the Middle Ages the judicial combat was replaced by less controversial forms of juridical combat.

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[9] The judicial combat and the ordeal, although both relying on divine intervention to achieve justice, seem to me to be crucially different in that in the ordeal only one individual undergoes the trial, whereas in the judicial combat both plaintiff and defendant are tried.

The cases in which judicial combat was used were generally the following: murder, clashes of testimony, disputes over property, adultery (although the judicial combat was not widely used to settle adultery cases), and lastly treason.[10] In property cases, the disputed lands or goods usually had to have more than a set minimum value before a judicial combat could be fought. Treason and the judicial combat were strongly linked; for example, when Frederick II abolished the judicial combat in Italy for most civil and criminal cases he stated categorically that it should be retained in cases of treason (Bartlett, 1986, 107).

At first, as in the *hólmganga*, the plaintiff and the accused would fight in person, and this custom continued for some time. Nevertheless, the practice turned more and more towards employing representatives, or 'champions', to fight instead. Clerics, women, Jews, the wounded, the sick, the very young and the very old were generally encouraged or even forced to employ champions (Kuhn, 1968, 219). German legal sources such as the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Deutschenspiegel* also record that 'judicial champion' or *kempfe* had very early on become an actual profession; at first the professional champion was placed on the same social level as the bastard: *rehtelos* (Hils, 1985, 329; Kuhn, 1968, 219), but by the end of the Middle Ages the champion had won at least recognition.

According to Beaumanoir, a champion who also acted as witness to his patron's innocence might expect to lose a hand – presumably his sword-hand – if he lost the combat (Bongert, 1949, 251), whereas the accused would have to pay a fine in civil cases or face harsher punishment, including execution and mutilation, in criminal cases. Perhaps for this reason judicial combats were frequently broken off, or the dispute settled without recourse to combat. However, actual fatalities in the course of judicial combats were rare, and combats resulted more often in serious wounding (Bongert, 1949, 248-9).

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[10] Treason and murder were closely connected in medieval law. Two forms of murder are recognised both in Germanic custom and in later French legal texts such as the *Livre de Jostice et de Pletz*. The first, *homicide*, was committed openly, as the result of a quarrel or feud. This was a far less serious crime than *murtre*. *Homicide* committed at night, without prior declaration of a quarrel or feud, or not allowing the victim the opportunity to defend himself, was classified as *murtre*, and frequently carried the death penalty under French law (Bloch, 1977, 34-39). *Murtre* is referred to in French legal texts as a mixture of *homicide* and *traïson*, or treacherous killing, and often appears in French literary texts simply as *traïson*. 'Treason' is the charge in almost all occurrences of judicial combat in the *chansons de geste* – usually also meaning an assault on the life of the monarch or on a member of his family or household (Rossi, 1982, 946-47). The exceptions to this rule are those cases in which the defendant is accused of adultery with a member of the monarch's family.

There were many variant forms of the judicial combat; the scheme that follows (summarising Bongert, 1949, 239-49) contains the central elements:

- The plaintiff's and the accused's testimony was heard by the magistrate.
- The accused in particular would also require witnesses to testify to his innocence.
- The accused would swear to his innocence, after which the judicial combat could begin.
- Both combatants would swear before God and the saints that their cause was just.
- They would offer their *gages* and name their *pleges* (after which point the combat could only be halted or forestalled with the magistrate's permission)[11]
- The magistrate would caution the combatants.
- The magistrate would set a date and time for the combat.
- Before the combat the combatants would again swear oaths.
- The combatants would receive Communion and occasionally present offerings to the Church.
- An area of land would be marked out and cordoned off for the combat.
- The spectators would be cautioned three times not to intervene.
- The combatants would then exchange blows.
- The fight continued until one combatant declared himself defeated.
- The case was formally closed by the magistrate and the appropriate penalties imposed.[12]

The judicial combat was used both by the nobility at court and by the common citizens. Although the basic procedure remained the same, the differences between the two forms are large. The 'commoners'' judicial combat was fought most frequently to settle property disputes and cases of robbery, murder or adultery, and the weapons generally used were the club and the shield, 'fustis et scutis', although according to the *Zwickauer Rechtsbuch* merchants acquired

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[11] *Gages* were either objects of small value or small sums of money, offered as tokens of the seriousness of the protagonists' intent. *Pleges* or *obsides* were the guarantors and would be imprisoned or fined if the protagonist they represented did not arrive for the combat (Bongert, 1949, 243-45).

[12] Pfeffer's study of the judicial combat as depicted in the *chansons de geste* includes a scheme for the form of the combat, established from depictions of judicial combats in various *chansons de geste*, including the *Chanson de Roland*:
'a. Die Anklage vor dem Gerichtshofe der Barone;
b. Die Herausforderung und die Annahme derselben;
c. Das Stellen der Geiseln;
d. Die Nachtwache in der Kirche;
e. Die Messe;
f. Der Sühneversuch;
g. Der Schwur;
h. Die Verkündigung des Bannes;
i. Der Kampf;
k. Die Strafe des Besiegten;
l. Die Hinrichtung (oder Freilassung) der Geiseln' (Pfeffer, 1885, 9).
The evoking of ecclesiastical ritual in the mass and the night watch in the church and the swearing of the oath before God make it clear that Divine judgement is being sought. The execution of the witnesses (if the defendant is vanquished) establishes that they also bear responsibility for the truth of the claim to which they are witnessing. It was details such as these which offended the Church.

the right to fight with swords (Nottarp, 1956, 286). The protagonists would fight on foot and wearing a cloth or leather gambeson. Head protection is not generally mentioned.[13]

The judicial combat at the Frankish court, however, was reserved for cases of high treason and occasionally for cases of alleged adultery on the part of the queen (see footnote 10). The king himself would act as magistrate but could not fight; the judicial combat was to be fought only between equals. His cause would be represented by a nobleman of equal birth to the accused, and if no-one could be found to fight, the accused would instead have to swear an oath to his innocence (Gál, 1907, 248). Hüpper-Dröge gives a list of the different weapons which are recorded as having been used (often blunted) in the judicial combat, including single swords, longswords and throwing-spears, but does not differentiate between the two forms of judicial combat (Hüpper-Dröge, 1984, 646). According to Gál, however, the weapons used by participants in judicial combat at the Merovingian court varied with the status of the individual. The king's mounted 'Gefolgsleute' were armed with long-shafted lance (*lancea*), shield and dagger;[14] all other participants used sword, shield and axe, which appear to have been the arms they would customarily have carried (Gál, 1907, 251). Sword and shield could equally well be used on foot or on horse-back, as could axe and shield, depending on the length of the axe (Gál, 1907, 251). The protagonists wore full armour. Judicial combats of all descriptions seem to have occasionally degenerated into grappling or wrestling, possibly because one or other of the protagonists lost his weapon (Bartlett, 1986, 111).

The Church's disapproval of the judicial combat, together with its popularity among the laity, led to a change in the procedure during the course of the Middle Ages. The combat continued to be used but became increasingly 'secularised'. The two forms which follow, the civil combat and the duel of chivalry, I suggest, developed respectively from the 'commoners''

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[13] See Nottarp, 1956, 284-85. The damage that could be caused to an opponent with a heavy stick or club should not be underestimated.

[14] It is not clear whether Gál is suggesting that the 'Gefolgsleute' would fight judicial combats in particular on horseback or whether he is referring to a group of the king's retinue who typically fought on horseback. The question of whether judicial combats were fought on horseback or not is not easy to solve. Ermoldus Nigellus reports that two Spanish West Gothic noblemen fought a judicial (or juridical) combat on horseback, with light javelins, in around AD 830, a style which he remarks on specifically as being counter to Frankish custom at the time. However, the authors of the *chansons de geste*, approximately two hundred and fifty years later, depict their heroes fighting judicial combats on horseback and in full armour, a style which is followed in literature from then on. Pfeffer, 1885, 68, suggest that this mirrors a change in custom which took place in the intervening time.

and the court judicial combat. Both new forms of juridical combat lack the elements of oaths sworn before God, but where the civil combat simply relies on pitting the two champions against each other, the duel of chivalry replaces the appeal to God with an appeal to the idealised concept of knighthood which became an *idée fixe* of the later medieval nobility.

2.3.1.4 The civil duel or civil combat

The civil combat appears to have developed gradually out of the 'commoners'' judicial combat and probably to have coexisted with it. In form it is nearly the same as the judicial combat, although it lacks some crucial details. This type of combat is outlined in depth by Galbraith (1948), who only deals with developments in England. From the gradual increase in the number and status of professional *kempfe* in Germany, however, one can infer that similar developments were taking place on the Continent (see Hils, 1985). Civil combats were fought exclusively by champions, rather than by the plaintiff and accused themselves, and only in cases of property dispute and the like. Up until 1275 in England, champions in the civil combat had to swear to the justness of their cause before God, but after this date only professional champions were allowed to fight and the process became entirely secularised (Galbraith, 1948, 286). In the later Middle Ages in Germany, the champion still had to swear an oath, but this was only to establish his own 'good character' (Hils, 1985, 335).

The crucial difference between this and the judicial combat is that in the civil combat the champions did not act to effect God's justice. They were independent agents, hired for money. By the end of the Middle Ages they had become recognised as skilled professionals and given the title 'Meister des Schwerts' (Hils, 1985, 336).

2.3.1.5 The duel of chivalry

In the same way as the civil combat developed from the 'commoners'' judicial combat, so the duel of chivalry may well have developed from the court judicial combat, being used in cases of treason or occasionally adultery involving the nobility. York (1969) concentrates on the English tradition and its later representation in Malory's *Mort Darthur*, although he also makes

reference to French records.[15] The duel of chivalry, also known as the treason duel of chivalry because of its frequent use in cases of alleged treason (York, 1969, 187), was introduced in England under Edward I, but was legalised under Richard II when a Court of Chivalry was established in 1384, together with the posts of special marshals and constables attached to the court. The king would himself act as magistrate (York, 1969, 190). The duel of chivalry remained a legal option in England until 1819, when it was finally abolished by an Act of Parliament (Squibb, 1959, 22).

The plaintiff and the accused in the duel of chivalry fought in person, on horseback and in full armour; the weapons used were the lance and the sword (York, 1969, 187). Although York records two forms, the French and the English, they had the same basic form, as is summarised below:

- The plaintiff would issue his accusation before the marshal.
- The defendant would deny the accusation (both plea and denial were increasingly couched in formal terms and eventually issued in written form).
- Both plaintiff and defendant would also swear oaths (York does not specify whether or not these were sworn before God).
- The constable would repeat a cry three times to begin the combat: the example cited from England reads 'Lessez les alier et faire loure devoire!'
- The combatants would exchange blows.
- If the king were present, he could (according to the English tradition) interrupt the combat by crying 'Hoo!'
- The constables and their deputies would then part the combatants with spears and force them to stop fighting.

[15] The exact provenance of the duel of chivalry, and the extent to which it spread beyond England, are not particularly clear. Squibb's study regards the Court of Chivalry as a purely English phenomenon (Squibb, 1959, 11-23). However, Squibb's study does not include more than a single reference to the judicial combat traditions, in which they are described as 'certain archaic proceedings [...] [which] had become practically obsolete in the common-law courts long before the Court of Chivalry came into existence' (Squibb, 1959, 22). This description clearly does not take into account the duration or the appeal of the juridical combat: York clearly refers to confusion between the judicial combat and the duel of chivalry in studies on Malory (York, 1969). Keen also criticises Squibb's treatment of the origins of the Court of Chivalry, while stressing, however, that Squibb's main focus is the seventeenth-century records of the Court, in part because records for the medieval Court are few and far between (Keen, 1996, 137-38). Squibb's study also places insufficient emphasis on the importance of the concept of chivalry and of the joust. The duel of chivalry bears many resemblances to the tournament joust, especially in the elaborate arrangements made for judges and spectators, and it may well be the duel of chivalry, not the judicial combat, to which Keen refers when he states that 'treatises on the duel were much read in chivalric circles' (Keen, 1984, 204). Vale notes the terminological links between the joust and the judicial combat/duel of chivalry (Vale, 1981, 76). In my view, it is likely that the court judicial combat began to accrue the trappings of chivalry during the course of its development, and that the duel of chivalry grew out of these additions. Although there is little or no reference to an actual Court of Chivalry in France or Germany, this does not mean that the same process of 'chivalrisation' did not occur in these countries as well; in fact, the inclusion of the joust in literary depictions of judicial combat in both languages suggests that it almost certainly did.

York does not specify what would normally be the result of the duel of chivalry, or the penalty a combatant could face, having been proved guilty. According to Squibb, the vanquished party in cases of treason (whether defendant or plaintiff) would be publicly shamed before being beheaded or hanged (Squibb, 1959, 23). In cases of other crimes, the vanquished party would simply be executed.

The duel of chivalry almost certainly coexisted with the judicial combat. The Court of Chivalry provided a legal procedure for cases of treason among the nobility and adultery on the part of royalty, but did not extend either to cases of murder, theft and the like, or to the lower classes, and some form of legal procedure was still needed in these cases, either the judicial or the civil combat.

2.3.1.6 The private duel of honour

This form of single combat, like the battle of champions, is not a juridical combat; in the private duel the combatants act informally and represent only themselves or another individual. Nevertheless, the private duel of honour, more than any other of the forms of single combat mentioned above, remained more or less in its original form well beyond not only the Middle Ages but also the Renaissance. The art of duelling began with the teaching of sword and buckler combat, and an edict was published in England in c. 1180 forbidding instruction in such styles of combat within the City of London (Brown, 1997, 17).

The custom of offering a *gage* as a challenge in the judicial combat also existed in the private duel and has become immortalised as 'throwing down the gauntlet'. The fact that precisely this gesture occurs in the *Chanson de Roland* emphasises the fact that questions of personal honour are not at all foreign to medieval literature; indeed, in many of the medieval depictions of judicial or juridical combats personal grudges play as large a part as any desire to see justice upheld. There is no reason to suppose that this was not also the case in reality.

2.3.2 The judicial combat in literature

It is obvious from the study of the various forms of single combat above that one must be cautious in attributing isolated elements in the depiction of combat to the influence of 'judicial

combat'.[16] As Hüpper-Dröge points out, 'auch die Anrufung Gottes zum Zeugen [...] ist als Weihehandlung vor Beginn jedes Kampfes zu verstehen, also nicht ausschließlich Bestandteil eines Zweikampfes vor Gericht' (Hüpper-Dröge, 1984, 653-54). It is only when an encounter is portrayed as the instrument of God's justice in a formalised legal setting that we can truly claim influence from the judicial combat itself. The combat between Thierry/Dietrich and Binabel/Pinabel depicted in the *Chanson de Roland* and in the *Rolandslied* then, which is most frequently cited as a judicial combat, appears to be the single clearest example of judicial combat in literature, although it provides only an example of one form of the procedure.[17]

One form of single combat which has not been examined in any detail with reference to medieval literature is the duel of chivalry. Although this form of juridical combat developed relatively late (in the mid-thirteenth century), it has obvious links with the chivalric ideals and concepts expressed in the Arthurian tradition. In particular the concept of being tried by the representatives of knighthood is reminiscent of the way in which Arthur's court tests and judges its members, and may even have been inspired by Arthurian literature. The fact that almost all literary depictions of judicial combats show the protagonists fighting on horseback and using the couched lance in a joust, long before this form was actually used in the duel of chivalry, suggests that the gradual 'chivalrisation' of the judicial combat may have actually resulted from the influence of literary depiction, and not the other way round (see footnote 4). A brief study of single combats from Arthurian romance and other texts in which chivalry is a major theme reveals influence from various types of juridical combat, most prominently from the judicial combat and the duel of chivalry.

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[16] Medieval authors often utilise elements of the judicial combat tradition in descriptions of combat. William of Poitiers, for example, describes the battle of Hastings in terms of a judicial combat (Strickland, 1998, 323-24).

[17] Hüpper-Dröge, 1984, 656. The *chansons de geste* provide many other examples of the judicial combat. All of these are fought between two noblemen and adjudicated by the monarch, although this probably reflects the preoccupation of the *chansons de geste* with the nobility rather than any contemporary trend (Rossi, 1982, 946).

2.3.2.1 The *Eneasroman*

The single combat between Eneas and Turnus in Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman* is an unusual case. The setting of the text in the Antique world seems to preclude any direct reference to the Christian judicial combat. Nevertheless, there are several references to God's judgement, and some features of the organisation of the combat suggest influence from the traditions of juridical combat. The combat is arranged by Latinus, at Drances's instigation, in order to settle the dispute over who should marry his daughter and succeed to his throne, Eneas or Turnus. Drances's suggestion is that Latinus should allow God to decide the issue, as long as his nobles agree:

> sô râte ich daz si vehten
> si zwêne alders eine,
> daz got daz reht bescheine,
> swem got der êren gunne
> daz her den sige gewinne,
> der habe daz rîche und die maget. (232,12-17)

This will be a better solution than causing innocent casualties by letting the war between Eneas and Turnus continue (232,19-21). Turnus agrees with this suggestion (235,5) and trusts to his own good fortune ('gelucke', 235,14) that he will defeat Eneas. However, after renewed fighting and the death of Camilla, Latinus appears to have changed his mind and decided instead simply to make peace with Eneas, a solution which Turnus angrily rejects:

> ich und der hêre Enêas
> wir mûzen uns versûchen.
> wil es got gerûchen,
> daz ich behalde mînen lîb,
> her lâzet mir lant unde wîb. (256,34-38)

Latinus warns Turnus that Eneas is 'ein sigesâlich man' (257,18): a man favoured by the gods (or God) and blessed with success in battle. Nevertheless, Turnus remains determined to face Eneas in single combat (referring once more to God's will as the deciding factor: 258,36-37), and Eneas is just as eager (259,26-27). The protagonists swear that they will face each other in order to settle the dispute, and the truce between the two armies is extended until the single combat takes place fourteen days later. Latinus takes hostages to ensure the peace (259,40-260,1).

On the day of the *tagedink* itself, Latinus acts as magistrate in that he hears the testimony and intentions of both the protagonists (308,9-310,34). Latinus also commands that a circle be

drawn in preparation for the combat (307,35-37), and takes the unusual measure of preventing the protagonists' followers from watching in order to avoid clashes or interference – a measure which backfires dramatically when battle breaks out (307,24-34). After the conflict between Eneas's and Turnus's supporters has been brought to an end, Latinus resumes his preparations by demanding that hostages (*obsides*) be chosen once more to prevent further violence (321,20-30). The combat between Eneas and Turnus then begins in the place which had previously been prepared (321,33-36), both protagonists fighting first on horseback then on foot. All of these elements clearly suggest one of the forms of juridical combat discussed above.

Although Turnus twice refers to God's will (256,34-38; 258,36-37) as the deciding factor in the combat, and Drances makes an even clearer reference (232,12-17), these comments are not conclusive enough to classify the encounter as a judicial combat (as is pointed out by Hüpper-Dröge, 1984, 653-654). They are, however, significant, as these are three of the occasions on which Veldeke 'forgets' the Antique setting and refers to 'God' rather than to 'gods'. The only elements of the encounter which suggests influence from the judicial combat itself are the drawing of the circle in which the protagonists are to fight, and the fact that Turnus and Eneas swear their oaths on the images of the gods which are set up beside the circle:

der alde kunich Latîn
der fûrde selbe sîne gote.
her ne hete deheinen boten
den her si lieze rûren:
her woldes selbe fûren,
dar ûffe si sweren solden,
die dâ vehten wolden
als si doch getâten.
[...]
dô hiez der kunech Latînûs
den kreiz bereiten,
einen teppich breiten
an der wisen ûf daz gras.
[...]
sîn gote dar ûffe lâgen
dar ûffe sie solden sweren,
die sich dâ wolden weren
Enêas und Turnûs.
daz meisterde Latînûs. (307,16-308,8)

Although the presence of God (or holy relics, on which the oath was also often sworn) is replaced by the presence of the images of Latinus's gods, the concept of Divine judgement presiding over the combat is clearly present. Nevertheless, once the combat actually begins no

reference is made to the judgement of the gods; instead, the focus is on the actual physical details of the combat and on Lavinia's reactions. If there are any regulations governing the use of weapons they are not strictly upheld; after Turnus's sword has broken he resorts to throwing a stone at his opponent and then attempting to defend himself with half of a broken lance (329,8-35). Neither Eneas nor the narrator seems to find this unacceptable; in fact the narrator notes Turnus's 'manlîchiu dink' (329,20).

On the whole, then, the combat between Eneas and Turnus can be described as a juridical combat, but with a mixture of details that preclude its being definitively classified in any one of the categories above. There are some points which suggest influence from the judicial combat, but not enough emphasis is laid on them to allow the combat to be described itself as a judicial combat. There is no suggestion of chivalry acting as judge; although the two protagonists fight with the archetypal knightly weapons, lance and sword, they are never referred to as *ritter*, but instead as *helide* or as *wîgande*. These terms, together with the way in which the combat is suggested by Drances specifically to prevent further bloodshed between the two armies suggest that this may even be called a battle of champions.[18]

2.3.2.2 *Iwein*

The combat between Iwein and Gawein in Hartmann's *Iwein* is a different matter. The two protagonists are not fighting over a matter which concerns them personally; each is acting as *kempfe* for one of two sisters in a dispute over inheritance. The older of the two appeals to Artus's court and obtains Gawein as her champion, while the younger (who is in the right) instead turns to Iwein, the 'Ritter mit dem Löwen'. A date is set for the combat (6027-29), and on the appointed day Artus's entire court is present to watch (6895-99). The protagonists ride out into the circle (6907), and Artus, as king, first assures himself that the dispute may not be

[18] The distinction between the battle of champions and the judicial combat is not as clearly marked here as it is for example in the *chansons de geste*, in which the judicial combat is a means to resolve a dispute which takes place *within* a social group. This is in clear contrast with the battle of champions, which is fought between two representatives of different groups (Rossi, 1982, 954). It could be claimed that Turnus and Eneas represent two different social groups, but these two groups are similar ideologically and socially to the point of being identical and could equally well be seen as two lineages of Antique nobility.

settled by agreement before ordering all present to leave the ring (6929-31).[19] Neither Iwein nor Gawein swears any form of oath, nor is there any formal appeal to God (although Gawein later refers to divine judgement, see 7627-30). The motivation of the champions as they ride to meet each other is not purely to uphold their respective causes, but also to gain *êre*:

> [...]
> daz ich iu lîhte mac gesagen
> daz sî niender zwein zagen
> des tages gelîch gebârten
> und daz als ê bewârten
> daz diu werlt nie gewan
> zwêne strîtiger man
> nâch werltlîchem lône.
> des truogens ouch die krône
> rîterlîcher êren,
> die ietweder wolde mêren
> mit dem andern an dem tage (6945-55)

As soon as Iwein and Gawein realise that they have been fighting each other, they refuse to continue the combat and force the resolution of the dispute by other means. Gawein declares openly that he has been fighting for an unjust cause (7625-30). Nevertheless, both he and Iwein are prepared to declare themselves defeated in order to increase each other's knightly honour, which seems at that moment at least to be a more important issue to them than the actual settling of the dispute (7636-46).

In spite of Gawein's claim that God would never permit him to triumph in an unjust cause, which is a clear reference to the most contentious issue of the judicial combat, the duel between Iwein and Gawein, like the duel between Eneas and Turnus, cannot itself be described as a judicial combat. The idea that God never allows the wicked to triumph does not belong to the judicial combat alone, and in this case there is no evidence at all of the mandatory appeal to divine justice at the beginning of the proceedings. The champions are independent agents (although Iwein is motivated by the desire to see justice done, 6001-04), which suggests influence from the later, secularised forms of juridical combat.[20] The fact that it is to Artus's

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[19] Jackson, 1994, 268-69, suggests that this episode introduces two different systems of trial, the trial by combat and the trial by inquisition, in which testimony was presented and evaluated. Once the combat between Iwein and Gawein has ended with stalemate, Artus must judge the case in the inquisitorial style, on its merits.

[20] Jackson points to the discrepancy between Gawein's and Iwein's responses to the sisters' requests for aid, noting that Iwein recognises the justice of the younger sister's cause, while Gawein fails to notice the injustice of the older sister's actions (see Jackson, 1994, 266-67). However, although Jackson suggests that the champions Iwein and Gawein both have a duty to establish the facts of the case before offering aid, this does not necessarily imply that they are acting as witnesses.

court and Artus's knights that both sisters turn implies that royal justice and chivalry are being called on to decide the issue, rather than God's judgement. The narrator clearly views the combat as an opportunity to extol the outstanding knightly qualities of the protagonists (7004-08), while Iwein's and Gawein's enthusiasm for the combat as a means of increasing their reputations in front of Artus and their peers suggests that they themselves view the occasion as a public test of chivalry. The similarity between this and the ethos of the duel of chivalry is marked, even though, once more, it is not possible to classify this combat conclusively.[21]

A depiction of juridical combat also appears earlier in *Iwein*, when Lunete is accused of unfaithfulness towards her mistress Laudine by Laudine's steward and his two brothers. She can find no knight to take her part (4071-74); her execution is set for the next day at noon before Laudine and her entire court. Even should a champion appear to defend her, all three accusers intend to take part in the combat against him, which clearly transgresses the form of any juridical combat (4326-27). When Iwein arrives to take up the challenge, in spite of the odds against him, he is confident for two reasons:

> daz got und ir unschulde
> den gewalt niene dulde
> daz im iht missegienge,
> und daz in ouch vervienge
> der lewe sîn geverte
> daz er die maget ernerte (5169-74).

He declares himself ready to fight for Lunete, and specifically to take full responsibility for her alleged wrongdoings (5180-83). In terms of the events of the narrative, the responsibility for the charges against her clearly belongs to Iwein; nevertheless, in terms of the judicial combat, Iwein's acceptance of this responsibility marks him out as a witness to Lunete's innocence. In response to the steward's attempts to dissuade him from fighting, Iwein claims divine assistance (5274-76, compare *Tristan* 6866-92)

Iwein overcomes all three opponents with the help of his lion, who kills the steward, and the two brothers are by law condemned to face the same execution which they had demanded for Lunete:

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[21] A brief comparison between this episode in Hartmann and the corresponding combat in Chrétien (*Yvain* 4313-587) shows that Hartmann drew the general tone and most of the detail of the description from his source.

Nû was ez ze den zîten site
daz der schuldegære lite
den selben tôt den der man
solde lîden den er an
mit kampfe vor gerihte sprach,
ob ez alsô geschach
daz er mit kampfe unschuldec wart. (5429-35)[22]

Lunete herself is released, cleared of all accusations, and immediately restored to her place in Laudine's favour (5445-50).

Unlike the two combats previously discussed, the battle between Iwein and Lunete's accusers can be categorised almost without hesitation as a judicial combat. Hartmann's repeated references to the *site* governing such a combat, the invocation of divine support by the protagonists, the way in which Iwein acts not only as champion but as witness to Lunete's innocence, and the penalty facing the defeated protagonists all classify this combat as a legal procedure in which God's justice decides right and wrong. Only small details are missing: neither Iwein nor the steward offer *gages*, there is no mention of a circle being drawn or of a ban on intervention in the combat and the only magistrate is Laudine herself, who plays little part in the proceedings. However, all of these missing points may be attributed to the hasty transformation of an execution into a judicial combat at the very last moment, and to the control which the steward is obviously able to exercise over his mistress. The most jarring point, the fact that the steward and his two brothers all face Iwein in the combat, is specifically remarked on by Lunete as 'against custom'. Comparison with the forms of juridical combat discussed above reveals that this custom can be no other than that of the judicial combat itself.[23]

2.3.2.3 *Parzival*

Wolfram also takes up the theme of juridical combat in *Parzival* on two occasions, once in Kingrimursel's challenge to Gawan, and again in the proposed duel between Gawan and Gramoflanz. Neither combat actually takes place, which makes it difficult to establish exactly to which form of juridical combat Wolfram refers. In both instances, the charge made against the

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[22] This suggests that, if Iwein had been defeated but not actually killed in the combat, he would have been executed with Lunete, whose alleged crime he had taken on himself.
[23] Jackson describes Lunete's trial as 'a formal, public judicial combat' (Jackson, 1994, 247).

defendant is that of treacherous killing, which would certainly have been cause for trial by the actual judicial combat.

In the first instance, Kingrimursel challenges Gawan on behalf of King Vergulaht, whose father Gawan is accused of killing treacherously. His challenge is offered in unmistakable terms:

> daz ist hie hêr Gâwân,
> der dicke prîs hât getân
> und hôhe werdekeit bezalt.
> unprîs sîn het aldâ gewalt,
> dô in sîn gir dar zuo vertruoc,
> ime gruoze er mînen hêrren sluoc.
> [...]
> ez tuot manc tûsent herzen wê
> daz strenge mortlîche rê
> an mîme hêrren ist getân.
> lougent des hêr Gâwan,
> des antwurte ûf kampfes slac. (321,5-17)

The date for the combat is set for forty days from the challenge and the place established as the city of Schanpfanzun. Kingrimursel intends to face Gawan himself and warns Gawan not to evade the combat on his honour as a knight:

> kan sîn lîp des niht verzagen,
> ern welle dâ schildes ambet tragen,
> sô mane i'n dennoch mêre
> bî des helmes êre
> unt durch ritter ordenlîchez lebn:
> dem sint zwuo rîche urbor gegebn,
> rehtiu scham und werdiu triwe
> gebent prîs alt unde niwe.
> Hêr Gâwân sol sich niht verschemn,
> ob er geselleschaft wil nemn
> ob der tavelrunder,
> diu dort stêt besunder.
> der reht waere gebrochen sân,
> saeze drobe ein triwenlôser man. (321,23-322,6)

Artus, as Gawan's uncle, warns Kingrimursel that he himself would be prepared to fight if Gawan should be defeated (322,13-18), and Gawan's brother Beacurs offers to fight in Gawan's stead as 'kampflîchez gîsel' (323,1-21). Kingrimursel assures Gawan that he will not be molested by any other inhabitants of Schanpfanzun:

> ouch gibe i'm vride übr al daz lant,
> niwan von mîn eines hant:
> mit triwen ich vride geheize
> ûzerhalp des kampfes kreize (324,25-28)

Kingrimursel is known to Artus's court as a wise and respected nobleman and it is judged that Gawan should not make light of this challenge (325,1-9). Well-equipped with horses, lances and shields, he sets off for Schanpfanzun.

However, when Gawan is in Schanpfanzun, King Vergulaht violates the terms of the challenge to combat by attacking him and breaking Kingrimursel's promise of safe conduct. As the terms of the combat have been transgressed, Kingrimursel is forced to postpone the duel for another year (418,1-22). This time it will take place in Barbigoel, under the supervision of King Meljanz (418,15-16). Once the year has passed, the combat is prevented in part because of the family relationship between Gawan and Vergulaht, and also because a third party, Graf Ehcunaht, has been discovered to have committed the crime of which Gawan was originally accused (503,14-18).

As with the combat between Iwein and Gawein, the preparations for combat between Kingrimursel and Gawan indicate that this is intended to be a juridical combat, and as with the encounter between Iwein and Lunete's accusers, certain set procedures are put in place. Kingrimursel twice refers to the ring in which the two are to fight (*Parzival* 418,1-3; 418,20), and the place and date of the combat are clearly determined. Gawan is assured safe conduct, and Vergulaht has agreed not only to a 'truce' (*Parzival* 415,10-17) but to offer Gawein hospitality (*Parzival* 412,18-19). Once Vergulaht violates the agreement, the combat has to be abandoned and a new date set.

Various details in the preparations for this combat suggest that this may another example of a prototype of the duel of chivalry. There is no mention of divine judgement at all in these preliminary stages, which suggests no direct influence from the judicial combat itself. The wording of Kingrimursel's challenge to Gawan suggests that their combat will ultimately be 'judged' by chivalry itself. Even Beacurs's offer to fight in his brother's place, although certainly motivated by the desire to avenge an injury to their family honour, also owes something to his desire to win renown as a knight (323,1-23). The formalities peculiar to the fully developed duel of chivalry are missing, but Kingrimursel's first appearance in full armour and with his sword drawn both establishes his intent and announces his status as a knight.

The preparations for the combat between Gawan and Gramoflanz display the same preoccupation with chivalry as opposed to divine justice. Gramoflanz wishes to avenge the death of his father Irot, allegedly at the hands of Gawan's father Lot (608,9-30), as well as the theft of the garland from his tree (604,7-30; 683,3-4) while Gawan accepts the challenge in order to defend his father's name:[24]

ich sol für sîn lasters nôt,
hân ich werdeclîchez lebn,
ûf kampf vür in ze gîsel gebn (609,24-26)

The two protagonists arrange the date and the place for the combat in courteous terms (610,6-24). After each has given his word to attend at the meadow of Joflanze in sixteen days' time, accompanied by knights and ladies from their respective courts, they go their separate ways. Gawan sends an urgent message to Artus, asking him to attend. Artus agrees, and sets off with great ceremony. When Artus and his court arrive at Joflanze, Artus immediately sends word to Gramoflanz to establish whether the combat will take place as planned. Gramoflanz gives his messengers instructions not to allow themselves to be drawn into hostilities (684,19-21). After arming himself, Gramoflanz rides out onto the field, in which he has had an area separated off with painted wooden posts. Wolfram specifies the size of this 'ring': each side is marked by fifty posts, and the distance between each post is forty *poynder* (a *poynder* being the length of charge required by each protagonist in a joust).[25] However, Gawan is in no state to begin the combat, having just been almost defeated by Parzival in an impromptu duel, and Gramoflanz postpones the combat until the next day, rejecting Parzival's offer to fight in Gawan's place:

hêr, swaz mîn neve Gâwân
gein iwern hulden hât getân,
des lât mich für in wesen pfant.
ich trage noch werlîche hant:

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[24] Both Gawan and his father Lot are charged with killing their supposed opponents treacherously: (*Parzival* 321,5-17; 608,22-23). This treacherous homicide clearly refers back to the concepts of *traïson* and *murtre* mentioned in footnote 10.

[25] (*Parzival* 690,26-29) This is an enormous area: it is of course possible that Wolfram is exaggerating the size. Pfeffer establishes that the area in which the combat takes place in French texts is usually between one and two *arpens* in length, judging by the distance between the two protagonists at the beginning of the combat (one *arpen* being between 180 and 260 feet). It is obvious that the area marked out for the fighting of judicial combats is usually rectangular or square in form. This appears to have been the case in most of the forms of juridical combat, including the *hólmganga*, in which case it is strange that the area marked out should be so consistently referred to as a circle (however, the modern boxing 'ring' is also typically square). The two words used most frequently in Middle High German are *rinc* and *kreiz*. *Kreiz*'s primary meaning is general and it is used to describe the boundaries of an estate or of a country (*landeskreiz*). On the other hand, *rinc* has a range of meanings, most connected with judicial proceedings of one kind or another.

welt ir zürnen gein im kêrn,
daz sol ich iu mit swerten wern. (693,7-12)

Parzival is not prepared to accept a refusal either from Gramoflanz or from Gawan himself, and sets out to meet Gramoflanz the following morning in the area marked out for the combat:

der helt reit al eine dan
gein den ronen spiegelîn,
aldâ der kampf solde sîn. (703,26-28)

Parzival and Gramoflanz joust with lances and then fight with swords. In the meantime, Gawan hears mass and sets out himself to face Gramoflanz, only to find the two protagonists still fighting. Both Artus's knights and Gramoflanz's followers reach the posts marking off the 'ring' and watch (706,1-4). Gramoflanz has almost been defeated when a group of knights riding bare-headed intervene to stop the combat (706,26-707,14). Gawan offers to postpone the actual combat once more, but during the course of the day Gawan and Gramoflanz reach a negotiated reconciliation.

From Gawan's and Gramoflanz's attitudes towards this combat it seems again that the judgement of courtly society, rather than the judgement of God, is being sought in the preparations for this combat. The arrangements for the combat have obviously been carefully made, although once again there is no obvious magistrate presiding. Intervention from Parzival twice forces a postponement of the combat, although no new place and date is formally set – the postponement is a private matter between the protagonists. The only element which distinguishes these arrangements from those made for the combat between Gawan and Kingrimursel is the mass that Gawan attends before arming himself. This was a part of the procedure in the judicial combat, but was not unknown in other situations (for example, before battle), and does not suffice to categorise this combat as a judicial combat. The rules by which all present prepare for this encounter are the rules of chivalry, and for this reason, this combat too may best be described as an early example of the duel of chivalry.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, since neither of the juridical combats in *Parzival* actually takes place, we do not have a complete picture. It is entirely possible that either or both of these combats would have been carried out in precise accordance with the rules

of the judicial combat itself, complete with witnesses, oaths sworn before God and all attendant details. However, the preparations Wolfram describes do not suggest this to be the case.

2.3.2.4 Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*

By way of comparison, we can also examine the combat in Gottfried's *Tristan* between Tristan and Morolt. Although some aspects of this combat are drawn from other traditions, it is basically a judicial combat in the strict sense of the word.

The situation is as follows: if Cornwall and England object to the treaty according to which Ireland demands yearly tribute, then they must demonstrate the injustice of the treaty 'mit einwîge oder mit lanther' (6372). Tristan offers these options to the Irish emissary Morolt, who insists on single combat. Tristan agrees and hands Morolt his glove:

> Tristan sprach aber: ››diz muoz ich
> mit gotes helfe erzeigen,
> und müeze den geveigen,
> der unreht under uns beiden habe!‹‹
> sînen hantschuoch zôh er abe.
> er bôt in Môrolde dar. (6450-55)

Tristan then calls upon the others present to witness his challenge 'daz ich daz reht niht breche' (6460). He claims in God's name that Morolt has no right to exact tribute from Cornwall or England, to which Mark and his court respond by calling on God to free them from their oppressors (6473-78). Morolt accepts Tristan's challenge and offers him in turn 'des kampfes bewaerde' (6487), or a *gage*, and the combat is set for three days later.

On the appointed day, all of Mark's knights and many of the people come to the coast to watch the combat. Morolt is experienced in single combat and confident in his abilities (6515-20), while Tristan has never before fought in a single combat (6521-30). Tristan is armed in mail and plate, mounted, and carries sword, shield and lance according to knightly custom and also to the regulations of single combat:

> Nû daz Tristan ze vehte
> nâch ritteres rehte
> nâch kampfes gewonheit
> wol und ze prîse was bereit... (6683-86)

Before setting off for the combat, Tristan comforts Mark and the other onlookers by repeating his assertion that God will intervene on his behalf:

got selbe, der mit mir sol gân
ze ringe und ouch ze vehte,
der bringe reht ze rehte!
got muoz binamen mit mir gesigen
oder mit mir sigelôs beligen. (6778-82)

In order to ensure that the spectators do not intervene, the two protagonists are given boats with which they cross the sea to a small island within view from the shore. A further command is given to the crowd that no-one is to attempt to cross the water until the combat is ended (6721-30). When Tristan sails across, he leaves his boat to drift away from the island, symbolically indicating that neither protagonist can back down (6791-809). Nonetheless Morolt offers once more to spare Tristan if Tristan will withdraw, which he refuses to do. In a brief excursus, the narrator describes the combat as a battle between two 'armies', rather than between two individual protagonists: Morolt has the strength of four men, and hence counts as a company of four knights. Tristan's lesser strength is made up for by the fact that he is aided in his combat by God and Justice, whose vassal he is, and finally by his own determination:

sô was anderhalp der strît:
daz eine got, daz ander reht,
daz dritte was ir zweier kneht
und ir gewaerer dienestman,
der wol gewaere Tristan,
daz vierde was willeger muot,
der wunder in den noeten tuot. (6882-88,
compare *Iwein* 5274-76, *Karl* 11878-81)

Once Tristan is wounded, Morolt again demands that he surrender, claiming that the wound demonstrates that Tristan's cause is not just (6931-34). Once more Tristan refuses, and once more the narrator describes the intervention of God and Justice on Tristan's side:

got unde reht diu rîten dô în
mit rehtem urteile. (6996-97)

When Tristan finally gains the upper hand, he taunts Morolt before decapitating him and confirms that God has indeed, as promised, intervened on his side (7075-80). Mark and his court praise God for Tristan's victory (7093-99). The Irish make no protest, but simply gather up Morolt's body and depart.

The repeated references to God and to divine justice throughout this combat and in particular the reference to *rehtez urteil* (6997) make it obvious that this is a judicial combat; as does the formalisation of the combat, especially the offering of *gages*. This combat is, in many

ways, very similar to the combat between Thierry and Pinabel in the *Chanson de Roland*: points of similarity include the obvious inequality between Tristan and Morolt, reminiscent of David and Goliath. However, the combat between Tristan and Morolt is not supervised by a magistrate.

One element in particular which does not fit the form of the judicial combat is the choice of venue. The battle on an island is a clear reference back to the custom of the *hólmganga*. It may be that Norse traditions had infiltrated the Celtic cultures in which the story of Tristan and Iseult is thought to have originated, or simply that Gottfried was aware of the single combat on an island as an unusual or archaic feature.

Eilhart likewise sets the combat between Tristrant and Morolt on an island, and has Tristrant set Morolt's boat adrift so that only one of them may return to land (*Tristrant und Isalde* 841-53). The general details of Eilhart's combat are the same as in Gottfried, including the elements of judicial combat. The greatest difference between Eilhart's version and Gottfried's is that in Eilhart, Tristrant does not kill Morolt outright (*Tristrant und Isalde* 947-1009). Morolt is instead incapacitated by wounds which later prove to be mortal.[26] The grieving Irish hurry to return him to Isolt, but he dies before they reach Ireland.

2.3.2.5 Summary

It is obvious from the study of the historical judicial combat that the various forms of juridical combat are far from being clear-cut, and that the secondary literature approaches the subject in a variety of often contradictory ways. It is clear that there was a range of types of combat used to settle disputes, and that these have all at one point or another been referred to as 'judicial'. It is possible, however, to distinguish one group of combats that can be identified positively as judicial combats, in the narrow sense of the word. These combats, although they differ in aspects of their form, nevertheless share certain key elements: first, the combat is formal and is controlled by a person with legal authority (the magistrate), secondly, the combatants openly acknowledge that they are fighting before God (by swearing oaths, by receiving Communion),

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[26] The severing of Morolt's hand is reminiscent of the penalty recorded by Beaumanoir for the defeated party in a judicial combat (Bongert, 1949, 251).

and thirdly, the combatants also openly acknowledge that they are fighting as witnesses for the plaintiff and the accused (if the plaintiff and accused are unable to fight themselves).

The literary depictions of 'judicial' combats likewise cover a range of different types of combat that cannot all be said to belong truly to the judicial combat tradition. The brief examination of the combats above suggests that many instances of what has been described as 'judicial' combat should be reclassified as 'juridical'. The combat between Eneas and Turnus is perhaps the hardest to classify, but shows some influence from the battle of champions (not strictly a form of juridical combat at all). The combat between Iwein and Gawein, together with the preparations for the combats in *Parzival*, suggest reference to a prototype of the duel of chivalry. The combat between Tristan and Morolt and Iwein's combat in defence of Lunete appear to be the closest to the form of the actual judicial combat, some small details aside. Neither of these last, however, is as clear-cut as the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel in *Karl*, or its equivalents in the *Rolandslied* and the *Chanson de Roland*. The literary accounts of 'judicial' combats are as varied as the historical traditions of juridical combats.

Although it is certainly possible to identify the influence of the judicial combat tradition on individual elements of single combats in literature (for instance, the drawing of a circle, the prohibition against interference, or the reference to the *griezwarte*), it is clear that it is not advisable to classify literary combats too quickly as 'judicial'. Nevertheless, the central premise of the judicial combat, that the combat is a conflict between justice and injustice, between right and wrong, remains central to almost all literary single combats.

3. The single combats in *Karl der Grosse*

3.1 List of the single combats in *Karl*

1. Roland v. Alderôt (4965-5036)
2. Roland v. Carpin (5053-78)
3. Olivier v. Falsaron (5234-99)
4. Tortan v. Orten (5310-15)
5. Maximin v. Tortan (5317-22)
6. Ilmar v. Marzille (5332-52)
7. Kursables v. Turpin (5388-433)
8. Valram v. Kridos (5444-50)
9. Malprimes v. Gergis (5510-23)
10. Ciceron v. Gergis (5524-35)
11. Murafel v. Egeris (5557-78)
12. Brutan v. Egeris (5581-85)
13. Amirat v. Samson (5609-47)
14. Targis v. Ansis (5717-45)
15. Eschermunt v. Engelher (5783-832)
16. Estrogant v. Hatte (5871-929)
17. Stahelmariez v. Bernger (5971-87)
18. Cernoles v. Roland (6055-84)
19. Margriez v. Olivier (6085-35)
20. Samson v. Schrapalon (6152-61)
21. Samson v. anon. Saracen (6367-73)
22. Roland v. anon. Saracen (6374-77)
23. Albrich v. Ansis (6386-99)
24. Turpin v. Albrich (6400-10)
25. Granton v. Gergis (6417-23)
26. Granton v. Bernger (6424-27)
27. Roland v. Granton (6430-50)
28. Olivier v. Kartan (6451-92)
29. Abis v. Turpin (6596-628)
30. Olivier v. Malsaron (6670-76)
31. Olivier v. Turken (6677)
32. Olivier v. Esturken (6678)
33. Olivier v. Justine (6680-83)
34. Turpin v. Sigelot (6693-700)
35. Tibors v. Engelher (6888-904)
36. Olivier v. Tibors (6905-14)
37. Olivier v. Valbin (6915-18)
38. Roland v. Alfabin (7330-31)
39. Roland v. Ebelin (7332)
40. Marsilie v. Gerhart (7373-75)
41. Marsilie v. Ives (7376)
42. Marsilie v. Pegon (7377)
43. Marsilie v. Tegion (7378)
44. Roland v. Jorfalier (7380-83)
45. Roland v. Marsilie (7390-432)
46. Olivier v. Algariez (7473-98)
47. Roland v. anon. Saracen (8110-32)
48. Gerolt v. Malprimes (9710-23)
49. Gotfrit v. anon. Saracen (9744-47)
50. Naymis v. king of Persia (9916-82)
51. Karl v. king of Persia (9960-66)
52. Karl v. Kanabus (9967-74)
53. Paligan v. Rapote (10077-98)
- *Karl v. Paligan (10067-305)*
- *Dietrich v. Pinabel (11885-2077)*

(Detailed summaries of these combats are given in Appendix 1)

3.2 Categorisation of the single combats

Karl contains fifty-five examples of single combat featuring sixty-six protagonists, all but two of which (between Karl and Paligan and Dietrich and Pinabel) take place within the course of the two battles depicted in the text.[27] This is a different kind of encounter from the single combat as it is best known in the German Arthurian romance tradition.[28] However, the motifs used are frequently the same.

The descriptions of single combats in *Karl* range from one line to over three hundred lines in length. They can be categorised according to a variety of factors, both technical and descriptive. Technical factors include the number of phases in the combat, the weapons used by the protagonists and the outcome of the combat, whereas descriptive factors include the narrative viewpoint from which the combat is depicted (essentially whether the thoughts, emotions and actions of both protagonists are depicted, or only of one). Longer combats frequently consist of two phases (a lance attack followed by an exchange of sword-blows) in which the weapons used by both protagonists are mentioned. Both protagonists are depicted as active figures and frequently exchange words as well as blows in the form of challenges or taunts. An example of the longer type of combat can be found in the encounter between Cernoles and Roland (6055-6084). Shorter combats on the other hand may include only the barest minimum of detail, as in the example of Turken's defeat at the hands of Olivier:

dar nâch sluoc er [Olivier] Turken (6677)

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[27] The single combat between Karl and Paligan technically takes place during the second battle but the mêlée is suspended while the two kings fight.

[28] Jackson, 1994, 100-01, links the stylisation of the single combats in Hartmann with their function of checking excessive violence and restoring order, citing in particular Erec's combat with Iders. Jackson also describes the view of knighthood and chivalry in Hartmann as 'legitimatory'. I would argue, however, that all single combats in medieval literature are to some extent legitimatory.

In this case, the narrative is exclusively focused on Olivier, and we know nothing of his opponent beyond the name. The combat consists of only one phase, the sword-blow.[29] Even the outcome is left implicit, although we may assume that Turken is killed.[30]

There are only two single combats which may not be easily categorised in this way, and these differ from the others in particular in the area of the weapon or weapons used. In the encounter between Roland and the anonymous Saracen who attempts to steal Durendart Roland kills the intruder with a blow from his horn (8126-29), which can only realistically be classed as exceptional. In the encounter between Olivier and Margriez (6099-135), Olivier hurls a spear or javelin at his retreating enemy:

> einen spiez begreif er schiere
> und schôz Margrieze
> durch den rucke mit dem spieze. (6126-28)

This is the only instance of a Christian using a spear as a missile weapon. The Saracens on the other hand are frequently depicted using missile weapons (see for example 5676-77, 7744-47).

Both these combats are also unusual in that they are two of the few single combats in *Karl* to have a specific effect on the course of events in the narrative. The symbolic and narrative significance of the encounter between Roland and the anonymous Saracen is obvious, while the wounded Margriez reports back to Marsilie himself, causing him to alter his tactics (6279-318). Although Stricker follows Konrad (almost certainly his primary source, see von der Burg, 1974) in the account of Roland's encounter with the Saracen, he deviates considerably from Konrad in his account of Margriez's wounding.[31]

The single combat between Karl and Paligan (10067-305) and the judicial duel between Dietrich and Pinabel (11885-2077) are also of central importance. These two passages are the

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[29] Although there is no direct reference to a sword this can be deduced from the use of the verb *slahen* which indicates a slashing motion, rather than *stechen*, a thrust or stab from a lance. Davidson states that the two-edged sword would have been used primarily as a cutting weapon (Davidson, 1994, 196-98, see also Ayton, 1999, 199).

[30] The 'passivity' of Turken in this example is a result of the narrative point of view. Within the context of a battle at least, one may assume that all protagonists are actively participating in combat unless it is specifically stated otherwise.

[31] In the *Rolandslied*, the encounter between Olivier and Margriez ends with the Saracens separating the protagonists (*Rolandslied* 5098-100). Although Margriez later brings the news of the defeat to Marsilie, a 'sper' protruding from his back (*Rolandslied* 5631-68), Konrad does not explain how he came by the injury. In the *Chanson de Roland*, Margariz escapes injury but is not mentioned afterwards. The connection of the two events was either Stricker's own invention or taken from another source.

longest of all the descriptions of single combat, and also the most detailed, including both phases of combat (joust with lances followed by duel with swords on foot). These two combats are examined in more detail below.

3.2.1 The short single combats

3.2.1.1 The combat scheme and its motifs

Examination of the 53 short single combats in *Karl* reveals the existence of thirty-five motifs which appear more than once and which have been combined together to form a combat scheme, which represents an arsenal of possibilities for the realisation of this narrative unit. In the scheme, the motifs, labelled A-AI and grouped in eight sub-sections, are arranged in an order which roughly reflects the 'natural' order of events in a single combat. In practice the order frequently differs from one combat to the next, particularly in the area of verbal exchanges. Certain motifs are also usually mutually exclusive, such as for example Motif M: Protagonist transpierces opponent and Motif AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head. The motifs are listed below.

List of Motifs

Introductory section

A: Protagonist avenges previous defeat	(e.g. 5581-82)
B: Saracen protagonist approaches with battalion	(e.g. 5234-43)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(e.g. 5244-51)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(e.g. 5252)
E: Protagonist approaches alone (horseback)	(e.g. 4968)

Verbal phase (1)

F: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt	(e.g. 4969-94)
G: Protagonist responds with challenge/taunt	(e.g. 4995-5007)

Lance attack

H: Protagonist lowers lance	(e.g. 5061-62)
I: Protagonist spurs/urges horse onwards	(e.g. 5063)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(e.g. 5286)
K: Protagonist strikes with lance	(e.g. 5064)
L: Protagonist pierces through shield/armour	(e.g. 5575)
M: Protagonist transpierces opponent with lance	(e.g. 5349-51)
N: Lance breaks	(e.g. 5530)
O: Protagonist draws back lance	(e.g. 5290)

Duel with swords (1)

P: Protagonist draws sword	(e.g. 5823)
Q: Protagonist raises sword	(e.g. 5532)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(e.g. 5724-25)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(e.g. 5016-17a)
T: Sword rings	(e.g. 6160-61)

Verbal phase (2)

U: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt (2)	(e.g. 5740-41)

Reaction of protagonists

V: Protagonist unseated or unbalanced	(e.g. 5910-11)
W: Protagonist's morale affected	(e.g. 7418-19)
X: Protagonist attempts to flee	(e.g. 5923b-24)
Y: Protagonist closes with opponent again	(e.g. 6069-70)

Duel with swords (2)

Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(e.g. 5732-34)
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(e.g. 5429-30)
AB: Protagonist splits opponent's shoulders	(e.g. 6377)
AC: Protagonist splits opponent in two (epic blow)	(e.g. 5017b-19)
AD: Protagonist decapitates opponent	(e.g. 5321)
AE: Protagonist wounded/bleeding	(e.g. 5076)
AF: Protagonist falls dead	(e.g. 5077-78)

Concluding section

AG: Protagonist taunts fallen/defeated opponent	(e.g. 5023-32)
AH: Protagonist taunts onlookers	(e.g. 5291-97)
AI: Onlookers react	(e.g. 5298-99)

The combat scheme begins with a motif which appears only occasionally but in a clearly defined form: the motif of revenge for a previous defeat. In narrative terms it provides a link between the single combats by giving a brief reference back to the previous encounter and its result from the point of view of one of the protagonists. (In this way it can be regarded as similar to the reaction of the onlookers at the end of the combat, Motif AI.) The protagonist attacks his opponent to avenge the previous defeat of his companion or companions:

Malprîmes lac âne wer,
dar umbe bôt vil herten lôn
ein heiden, der hiez Cicerôn. (5524-26)

The motivation of revenge is attributed to Christian and Saracen protagonists alike, and is also found in descriptions of mêlée.

Motif B (Saracen protagonist approaches with battalion) appears exclusively in combats which contain use of the lance. This is not surprising, considering that these combats mark the points at which a fresh Saracen battalion appears on the field. The obvious tactic to use at this point would be a charge with couched lances. The occurrence of single combats with the lance between named characters at these points in the battle is not unknown in other texts (see M. H. Jones, 1989).

The arrival of a new *schar* and its commander leads naturally into the description of the protagonists' physical appearance and qualities (Motif C). This motif includes not only descriptions of weapons (9961), armour (5612-15) or physical strength (6061-65), which are mostly used to describe the Saracen protagonist, but also descriptions of the protagonist's character, as in the combat between Malprimes von Pergalt and Gergis:

gegen dem huop sich Gergîs,
der was starc küen unde wîs (5515-16)

Although Saracen protagonists are sometimes referred to as *starc* and *küen* (5560), they are never portrayed as *wîs*: there is no parallel in the single combats for the narratorial comment on Baligant in the *Chanson de Roland*:

Deus! quel baron, s'oüst chrestientet! (*Chanson de Roland* 3164)[32]

[32] Konrad also omits the aspect of admiration for certain of the Saracen figures (Palgen, 1920, 205).

The overall impression given by this difference in descriptions is one of hubris and ostentation on the part of the Saracens, and one of moral stature and strength of character on the part of the Christians, which is entirely consistent with the depiction of the two opposing armies in general, the one mistakenly over-confident in its own strength, the other placing its confidence instead in the promise of divine assistance and the heavenly reward.

Description of the protagonists' physical appearance and character leads on to the description of the protagonists' mental state (Motif D). This refers to the mood in which the protagonists approach the combat and the way in which they regard their opponent, as in the encounter between Roland and Carpin (5053-78), where Carpin is depicted striking Roland's shield 'nâch grimmes herzen gelust' (5065). By contrast, Eschermunt von Valterne enters the field 'froelîch unde gerne' as the banner-bearer of his *schar* (5788-89).

The mood of the protagonists is usually either one of grim determination or one of joyful enthusiasm. Either of these emotions is attributed to Saracen and Christian protagonists alike. A less frequent emotion, and one ascribed only to the Saracens, is overconfidence:

> des si diu übermuot vertruoc
> diu ouch Lûcifern valte. (5620-21)
>
> dô ahte der starke heiden
> ûf Ruolanden niht ein ei (6058-59)

A motivation attributed only to the Christians on the other hand is religious fervour:

> dâ wider vaht aber Ansîs
> umbe den himelischen ruom
> und umbe den grôzen rîchtuom,
> der iemer êweclîche wert. (5728-31)

Again, these last two descriptions are closely linked to the characterisation of the Saracen and Christian armies in general (von der Burg, 1974, 329).

Although the protagonists of a single combat within a battle are already marked out from the anonymous protagonists in a mêlée by being named,[33] Stricker also often separates them physically from their companions as well (Motif E: Protagonist approaches alone). The Saracen

[33] In *Karl*, there are only three examples of single combat where the name of only one protagonist is given. In the first case, Samson is killed by 'ein heiden' (6371) who is killed in turn by Roland (6376-77). The last anonymous protagonist is the unnamed Saracen who attempts to steal Durendal from the dying Roland.

protagonist often rides out at the head of or in advance of his followers, who then, like the Christians, watch the single combat and react to the result (Motif AI).

There is no particular set manner in which a protagonist approaches his opponent. In a few cases, the use of the verb *rennen* or even *rennen mit gewalte* (5622) suggests that the protagonist is actively charging on horseback towards his opponent, while elsewhere Stricker uses the less eloquent *komen/quomen* (5253), or *kêren* (9928). In one case, the encounter between Roland and Alderot (4965-5047), the Saracen is depicted approaching at a trot (4968).

Motifs F and G, the motifs that make up the first verbal encounter between the protagonists, appear in a surprisingly large number of single combats (fifteen for Motif F and six for Motif G). In essence, these motifs portray the fundamental conflict between Christian and Saracen, the religious difference that lies at the heart of the text. The Saracen protagonist insults his opponent, issues the challenge, and claims victory in the single combat, while asserting the supremacy of Mahmet. Occasionally, there is also an offer of mercy on condition that the Christian renounces his own faith. A typical example appears in the encounter between Olivier and Kartan (6455-92):

dâ widerreit im Kartân:
der wolte niemen hin lân.
der sprach ze Oliviere:
ergip dich mir vil schiere,
ich füere dich für den herren mîn,
sô behaltestû daz leben dîn.
wiltu willeclîche beten
an Terviganden und an Mahmeten,
die sint mit golde beslagen,
ezn wirt dir niemer vertragen.
sprichestû der wider iht,
dirn mac dîn Krist gehelfen niht,
ine füere dîn houbet hinnen
den selben zwein ze minnen. (6455-68)

The response of the Christian protagonist sometimes follows the same model but usually takes the form of a simple denial. No Christian protagonist offers mercy. Roland's response to Alderot's challenge is an example of the longer form of this motif:

Dô sprach der degen Ruolant:
du vorderst mir ein swaere pfant,
ich müeze dir mîn houbet lân.
daz sol Durndart understân.
ich hoere an dîme gekôse,
du bist ein zage bôse.
ich stên in Kristes gebote.
nu ruof Mahmete dîme gote,

und heiz dir helfen, des ist nôt.
sît dû mir biutest den tôt,
sô hân ich rehte schult ze dir.
daz du dâ geheizest mir,
des wirdestû von mir gewert. (4995-5007)

Olivier's reply to Kartan's challenge on the other hand is considerably shorter, containing only the essential expression of the religious motive:

Oliviere sprach: nu helfe mir
Krist von himel und helfe dir
Mahmet und Tervigant.
nu sul wir schouwen zehant
wem baz geholfen werde hie. (6469-6473)

The fact that the motif of the Christian response to the challenge appears in only six of the cases where a challenge is issued demonstrates another difference between the Christian and Saracen protagonists. Whereas the Christians demonstrate their supremacy through their actions, the Saracens rely on words as much as on deeds (see Heinemann, 1973, 18). The offer of mercy indicates a contempt for their opponents which stems from the overconfidence already depicted in Motif C.[34] It should also be noted that the Christian protagonist is victorious in each single combat in which Motifs F and G both appear; in other words, whenever the conflict between Christian and Saracen is made explicit by an exchange of challenges or threats, it is the Christian protagonist whose claim is borne out by events.

The next three motifs introduce the first physical phase of the combat. The protagonist lowers his lance (Motif H), spurs or urges his horse onwards (Motif I) and then charges his opponent (Motif J), preparatory to striking with the lance. The detail of lowering the lance (which is distinct from the action of aiming with the lowered lance), occurs only twice (5061-62, 5906), but the other two motifs are more common. The action of urging the horse onward is expressed by the construction *daz ros mit den sporn nemen* or *ze beiden sîten grüezen/ruoren*, although the expression *daz ros manen* is also used. The verb *hengen* also appears (5285).

The act of charging is expressed through a number of different verbs, of which *rennen*, *anrennen* or *sprengen* are the most common (5286, 5344, 5635-36). Stricker also uses *kêren* and *loufen lâzen*, and on two occasions a construction based on the noun *tjost*:

[34] The only Saracen offer of mercy which rings true appears in the combat between Karl and Paligan, in which Paligan offers to give Karl Spain if Karl will surrender to him and become his vassal. This offer differs from the others in that it appears partway through the combat (10168-90).

eine tjost er gegen im nam (5448)

ze rehter tjoste er loufen liez (9962)

It is also important to note that although Motif J usually appears at the beginning of the lance attack, it can also appear later in the combat during the duel with swords, as in the encounter between Olivier and Kartan:

vil nîtlîche sprancten sie
zesamene mit den swerten. (6474-75)

In other words, the advantage of momentum and weight gained by approaching an opponent at high speed is not confined only to the lance attack.

The motif of striking with the lance (Motif K) is expressed almost exclusively by the verb *stechen*. The form *verstechen* appears once (5980), while there is a clear distinction between *stechen* or *stechen ûf* (striking) and *stechen durch* (transpiercing – Motif M). The outcomes of the lance attack vary: the lance either fails to penetrate, or it penetrates the shield and armour,[35] or it transpierces the opponent, killing him immediately in all but one instance (Olivier v. Algariez, 7473-98). The piercing of the shield/armour is usually followed by the transpiercing of the opponent, and hence almost inevitably by his death.[36] The protagonists can also be unseated (Motif V, see 5910-11). The final possible outcome of a lance attack is the breaking of the lance (Motif N), or occasionally of both lances (6060). In two instances where the lance attack has decided the outcome of the combat, Motif O follows: the protagonist withdraws his lance from the body of his opponent (5290, 10098). Otherwise, the combat moves into the next phase: the duel with swords.

Although many studies have ignored the motifs of drawing or raising the sword, I have chosen to define them as the two separate motifs P and Q.[37] The reason for this is that although

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[35] In the scheme for the lance attack, unlike Rychner, I make no distinction between the piercing of the shield and of the armour. In *Karl* there are only two instance in which a blow with the lance penetrates the shield but fails to do any further damage (5814-19, 6600-04).
[36] M. H. Jones (1996), 74-90, demonstrates the importance of armour for the result of a single combat. With the development of heavier armour, the fatal blow is delayed sufficiently to allow the victor to offer his defeated opponents mercy. However, in *Karl*, all of the protagonists are wearing full armour, but this does not prevent them from being killed outright by a blow from a lance. Sodigné-Costes, 1994, 502-05, briefly examines injuries caused by jousts and other forms of combat in the French romance tradition.
[37] Neither Rychner's nor any of the other studies cited mention these elements in any detail.

both gestures imply the intention to enter combat, the action of raising the sword is a direct preparation for striking a blow. I have classified as Motif P those occasions where the protagonist has previously used his lance (5008, 5823), and as Motif Q occasions where his sword was probably already drawn (5531-32, 7488a).[38]

There are also two different motifs which express the action of striking with the sword. The first, Motif R, expresses an exchange of blows in which neither of the protagonists succeeds in piercing the armour of his opponent or causing injury. This might imply that the protagonists are parrying the blows, but this is not specifically stated anywhere in *Karl*. There is no indication of how many blows are exchanged, but this motif is often used to heighten the drama of the combat by the use of constructions based around the formula 'mit grozen slegen':

> ir swert si beide zucten,
> ûf einander sis dructen
> mit grozen slegen sêre. (5723-25)
>
> mit rîcher mannes krefte
> wurden diu swert ûf gezogen,
> mit grôzen slegen umbetrogen
> geslagen volleclîche. (6478-81)

The second motif, Motif S, expresses a sword-blow that results in the damaging of the opponent's shield or armour, or in the wounding of one of the protagonists. (The varying results of this blow are covered by motifs Z-AE.) Occasionally a Christian protagonist wounded by a blow of this kind recovers and eventually triumphs, as in the encounter between Roland and Carpin (5053-78), but usually the first such blow is decisive. The strength of the blow is occasionally emphasised by the fact that the sword-blade rings from the impact (Motif T).[39] The decisive role often played by Motif S in the depiction of the duel with swords is confirmed by the fact that, particularly in the shorter combat descriptions, Stricker does not even include the motifs that express the wounding or death of the opponent. *slahen* clearly implies in most cases not only *schlagen*, but also *erschlagen*.

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[38] 7488a could indeed be an instance of drawing the sword rather than raising it (the verb *zucken* suggests this), but there is no reason for Olivier to have sheathed his sword at this point. *zucken* may here be synonymous with *heben* or *ûf ziehen*.

[39] The motif of the swords ringing in battle, although common enough almost to qualify as a cliché of medieval combat description, appears only seldom in the single combats in *Karl*. The use of this and other descriptive elements is considered during the discussion of the two longer single combats, Karl v. Paligan and Dietrich v. Pinabel.

Nevertheless, in the longer combats the 'successful' blow does not mark the immediate end of the encounter. The action shifts once more from physical to verbal and one of the protagonists issues a second challenge or taunt (Motif U). This is not usually a reprise of the religious opposition stated at the beginning of the combat, but takes the form of a simple threat, as in Roland's words to Carpin (5072), and is a direct preliminary to striking the opponent once more.

The wounded opponent reels in his saddle (Motif V).[40] Although the wounded Christian protagonist steadfastly continues the fight, the wounded Saracen's morale is affected (Motif W, 7418-19) and in two instances he attempts to flee the field (Motif X, 6670-71, 7428-31). The Christian protagonist closes with him once more (Motif Y) and dispatches him (5925-28). In this particular instance, Estrogant obviously intends to escape (5921-28), but it is not clear whether he actually begins to flee.

The next motifs cover the immediate results of a successful sword-blow: the damaging of the shield (Motif Z) followed by the wounds inflicted on the opponent. The shield is damaged or rendered useless in three instances by a cutting blow that travels downwards from the reinforced rim (*rant*) of the shield through the wood. In the last instance, the blow is halted by the metal of the shield-boss (*buckel*):

> Ruolant dem heiden verschriet
> den schilt zetal durch den rant (5012-13)
>
> er sluoc im durch des schildes rant
> mit dem guoten Durndarte (5074-75)
>
> dô sluoc Targîs sîn swert
> Ansîse durch des schiltes rant,
> dêz ûf der buckeln wider want (5732-34)

[40] One might expect the unbalancing or unseating of an opponent to occur as a result of the lance attack. In *Karl*, however, this motif occurs also during the duel with swords.

Likewise, the various possible wounds inflicted on the opponent generally display the same downwards movement.[41] The first possibility is a blow to the top of the head which splits through the helm and skull (Motif AA):

> er sluoc im durch die hirnreben. (5739)
>
> der slac wart als ungesunt
> durch den helm unz ûf den munt (5429-30)

The second is a blow that travels downwards through the shoulder into the chest (Motif AB, 6674), or in the encounter between Roland and Marsilie a blow to the shoulder which severs the arm:

> dô sluoc im Ruolant den arm
> rehte in den ahseln abe (7414-15)

The third possibility, a logical (but not entirely credible) development of the first, is the epic blow (Motif AC): a downwards blow that splits not only the opponent's head but his entire body in two, in one case also splitting through the saddle and the horse:

> [...]
> und gap im aber einen slac
> dur den helm und durch die hirnschal
> und alsô durch die brust zetal
> durch beide satelbogen nider.
> daz swert enhabte niht wider,
> ê im daz ort komen was
> in die erden durch daz gras. (5017-22)

The exaggeration here is obvious and deliberate: the epic blow appears not only in *Karl* but elsewhere as a feat performed only by the greatest of heroes. In *Karl*, only Roland and Olivier are credited with this achievement, against Alderot (5017-22), Cernoles (6074-77) and Justine (6681-83).

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[41] Benton, 1979, 239, argues that a downwards blow would be less effective than a 'sweeping sidestroke'; however, the effectiveness of descending blows is evident in the general use of terms such as 'Zornhau' for blows travelling vertically or diagonally downwards in medieval German swordsmanship manuals such as those written by Ringeck and Liechtenauer (Tobler, 2001, 24-37). Further confirmation comes from the military surgeon Stevenson: 'Sword-wounds are, in the majority of cases, found to be inflicted on the left side of the head and neck, and on the left upper extremity' (Stevenson, 1897, 98). Benton's other comment, that to approach the enemy with arm upraised would not have been attempted, since it would leave the armpit open to attack, is contradicted by various treatises on swordsmanship from the Middle Ages and beyond: see for example the Fourth Guard in the earliest surviving German treatise, I.33 (Forgeng, 2003, 20-21), and Silver's 'open ward' (Matthey, 1898, 87).

The last possible wound inflicted is the only one not to result from a downwards blow. In this case, the blow moves horizontally and decapitates the opponent (Motif AD): 'daz im daz houbet enpfiel' (5321).

The splitting of the opponent's head and the splitting of his shoulders are usually but not always fatal, while the epic blow and decapitation result, as one might expect, in immediate death.[42] In the case of a wound which may or may not be fatal, Stricker adds a description of its result (Motif AE), usually involving a mention of blood, although there are several more gruesome possibilities:

> mit zorne huop er daz swert
> und gap Cicerône
> ein slac, daz im unschône
> daz bluot zen ôren ûz spranc. (5532-35)
>
> wand im daz hirn und daz bluot
> ze beiden ôren ûz spranc. (6158-59)
>
> daz im diu ougen ûz sprungen. (6435)[43]

In the case of wounds which are invariably fatal, Stricker makes no further mention of the result other than to announce the protagonist's death (Motif AF). This briefer form also occurs almost invariably in combats where the decisive blow is struck by a lance, to which Stricker devotes much less detail.[44] Motif AF, like the motif of the sword-blow, is usually expressed by one of a number of formulae such as *tôt zer erden vallen* or *in von dem rosse tôt werfen*, although there are other more descriptive alternatives such as 'daz sîn wîp ein witewe wart genant' (5585).

The combat scheme ends with a final verbal phase, in which the victorious protagonist taunts his fallen opponent (Motif AG) and taunts the onlookers (Motif AH), and in which the onlookers react to the result of the combat (Motif AI). The protagonist's taunts to his opponent predominantly repeat the theme of religious opposition introduced in the first verbal phase:

> dô sprach er [Roland] zuo dem heiden:
> nu bistu wol bescheiden,

---

[42] Stricker makes no reference to the minor injuries which one would expect combatants to suffer in battle. By contrast, both Joinville and Wolfram refer to a range of types of wounds, see *Vie de saint Louis* §225; *Willehalm* 99,18-28).

[43] Heinemann comments on the number of varied and equally gruesome results of wounds described in the *Chanson de Roland* (see Heinemann, 1973, 24).

[44] This indicates a general change in emphasis when compared to the *Chanson de Roland*; see Rychner, 1955, 139 and particularly Ross, 1963, 135: 'Nous trouvons dans le récit de la bataille de Roncevaux la description de quarante-quatre combats singuliers, dont le sort est décidé, pour trente et un d'entre eux, par la lance, et pour les treize autres, par l'épée, arme de Roland et d'Olivier après que leurs lances ont été brisées.'

daz sante Peter sterker ist
und der vil heilige Krist,
danne Mahmet dîn got. (5023-27)

Only the Christian protagonist taunts his fallen opponent, although there is one occasion on which a Saracen taunts the Christians (6392-99).

The final motif, that of the reaction of the onlookers to the result of the combat, occurs in sixteen combats altogether. In the majority of these combats, the Christian protagonist is victorious and the reaction is therefore one of celebration on the part of the Christian army. There are only two instances of Christian reaction to a Christian defeat (6372-73, 6390-91), and only one of rejoicing in the Saracen army at a Saracen's actions:

daz sâhen die heiden an
und sprâchen: habe danc Abis (6612-13)

The most common formula for the reaction of the onlookers is the cry of *Munschoy* from the Christian army. The use of the battle-cry at this moment is significant not only as an expression of solidarity between the fighters (although this aspect is important), but as a signal to rally them. This is obvious for example in the encounter between Olivier and Alderôt:

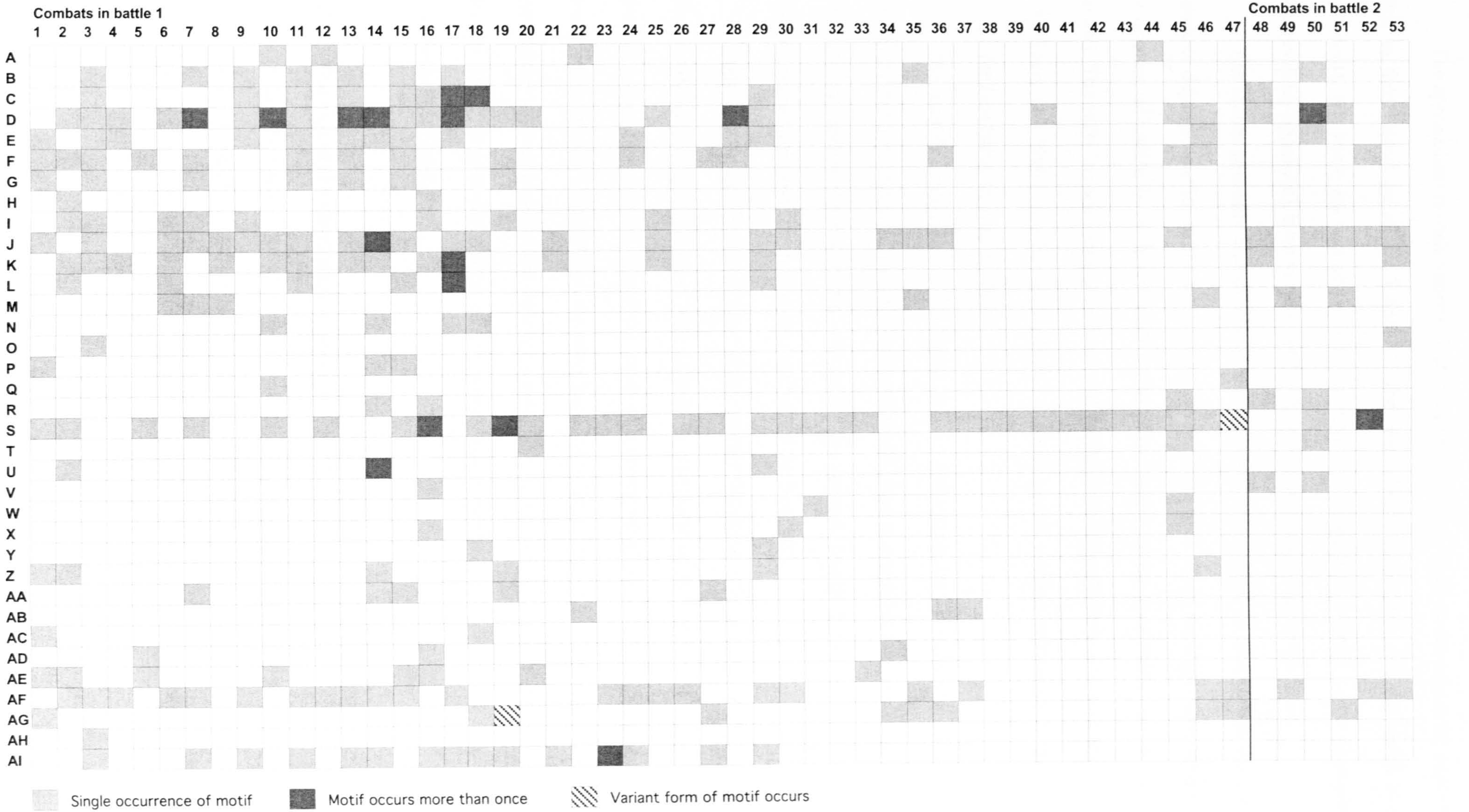
dô huobens ir herzeichen:
Munschoy riefens alle.
mit fröuden und mit schalle
begundens diu sper neigen
und mahten manegen veigen (5298-301)

In six cases, the battle-cry is followed immediately by a description of a Christian charge, and in two further cases by a single combat initiated by the Christian protagonist. The cry of *Munschoy* acts as a signal not only to rally but to prepare for a new offensive: a clearly recognisable signal necessary to maintain order in the confusion of battle (see M. H. Jones, 1989). The fact that the Saracens are never depicted using their battle-cry in this way suggests that the Christian army is their superior in discipline and order. The use of the battle-cry will be examined further in the study of the depictions of battle in *Karl.*

3.2.1.2 The distribution of the motifs

In the spreadsheet below, the combats are numbered horizontally in their chronological order while the motifs are listed vertically on the left-hand side. Combats 50-53, which belong to the second battle, appear to the far right.

Distribution of motifs in the single combats in *Karl*



The spreadsheet reveals various clusters of motifs. Some of these are only to be expected, such as the clusters on motifs S and AF (the 'successful' sword-blow and the death of the opponent), but some are less predictable, such as the frequency of motif J (the protagonist charges at his opponent), even in cases where the protagonist does not use the lance.

The motifs generally cluster more towards the left of the sheet: in other words, the single combats depicted earlier in the text contain more detail than those depicted later, where the description of mêlée is increased both in the latter stages of the first battle and during the second. The ratio between single combats and mêlée is discussed below (see sections 6.4 and 6.5). There is a higher number of one-line, i.e. faster-paced, combat depictions in the second half of the first battle than in the first.

The motifs connected to the 'lance attack' (Motifs H-O) in particular appear most frequently in the first half of the first battle, although there is a smaller cluster around combats 45-53, at the end of the first battle, and during the second. Motifs F and G (the first verbal exchange) are also most common in the first half of the first battle.

Some motifs are distributed more or less evenly throughout the spreadsheet (see Motif J). The motifs depicting the combat with swords in particular occur throughout, especially the decisive sword-blow (Motif S) and the death of a protagonist (Motif AF). Descriptions of the protagonists (Motifs C and D), on the other hand, occur less frequently in the second half of the first battle: we may assume that Stricker wanted to avoid slowing his description by including details. Motif D (the description of the protagonist's mental state), however, appears more frequently than Motif C.

3.2.1.3 The role of the short single combats

Although the short single combats in *Karl* take place during battle, many convey a sense of formalisation, even of ritual. This is created largely by the repetition of the motifs that form the framework of the encounter: Motif B: Saracen protagonist approaches with battalion; Motifs C and D: Description of protagonist (physical and mental); Motif E: Protagonist approaches alone; Motifs F and G: first verbal phase; Motif AF: Protagonist falls dead; AH: Protagonist taunts fallen opponent; and Motif AI: Onlookers react. The separation of the protagonists from their

scharen turns their fellow-combatants into spectators, witnessing the single combat in the same way that they would a battle of champions. Many of the Saracens named taking part in single combat are the leaders or banner-bearers of *scharen*, as are their Christian adversaries, and the reactions of the onlookers indicate that the single combats are of great importance to them.

At the same time, as previously stated, each of the short single combats embodies the fundamental conflict between Christians and Saracens in *Karl*, and demonstrates the Christians' superiority over their enemies. Even when a Saracen kills one or more Christians in single combat, he is immediately defeated and/or killed in his turn. This is true not only of the more detailed of the short single combats, but also of the briefer ones. In the more detailed encounters, the conflict between the religions is expressed explicitly in the verbal exchanges, the exchanges of challenges, and the taunting of the fallen Saracen opponent.

3.2.2 Karl v. Paligan (10067-305) and Dietrich v. Pinabel (11793-2077)

3.2.2.1 Comparison with the combat scheme

The combats between Karl and Paligan and Dietrich and Pinabel differ from the other encounters in several ways which are made clear by comparison with the combat scheme above. In both of the longer combats, many of the motifs correspond to those in the combat scheme. Although there are also motifs which appear only in the two longer combat descriptions, the two longer combats can be described basically as more elaborate versions of the shorter combats. This is obvious from the list of motifs from the shorter combats found in each longer combat:

List of motifs from combat scheme found in two longer combats (in chronological order)

Karl v. Paligan (10067-305)

B: Saracen protagonist approaches with battalion	(10082)
E: Protagonist approaches alone (horseback)	(10100a)
H: Protagonist lowers lance	(10100b-01)
I: Protagonist spurs/urges horse onwards	(10103-04)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(10105)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(10106)
K: Protagonist strikes with lance	(10107)
V: Protagonist unseated	(10114-15)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(10135-37)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(10138-39)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(10140-41)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(10142-43)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(10144-45)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(10146)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(10149)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(10150-51)
AI: Onlookers react	(10154-58)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(10159-60)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(10161-63)
U: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt (2)	(10167-90)
U: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt (2)	(10211-30)
T: Sword rings	(10238)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(10239-42)
AI: Onlookers react	(10243-44)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(10245-46a)
Y: Protagonist closes with opponent again	(10256-57a)
D: Description of protagonist (mental)	(10157b)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(10258-59)
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(10260-62)
AI: Onlookers react	(10263-66)
Q: Protagonist raises sword	(10290)
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(10291b-92)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(10294)
AF: Protagonist falls dead	(10295)
AI: Onlookers react	(10301-05)

Dietrich v. Pinabel (11793-12077)

F: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt	(11793-806)
G: Protagonist responds with challenge/taunt	(11814-44)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(11905-06)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(11907-09)
AI: Onlookers react	(11910-19)
E: Protagonist approaches alone (horseback)	(11933-34)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(11936)
L: Protagonist pierces through shield/armour	(11939-40)
N: Lance breaks	(11941-42a)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(11953)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(11954)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(11955-56)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(11957)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(11958-60)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(11974-76)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(11978-79)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(11980-81)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(11988-89)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(11990a)
T: Sword rings	(11992)
AI: Onlookers react	(11993-97)
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(12000-01)
AE: Protagonist wounded/bleeding	(12003-05)
Y: Protagonist closes with opponent again	(12046)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(12047)
R: Sword-blows are exchanged	(12048-49)
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(12056-59)
AI: Onlookers react	(12063-65)
AD: Protagonist decapitates opponent	(12068-69)
AG: Protagonist taunts fallen/defeated opponent	(12070-72)

From these lists it is immediately clear that these two combats, like the other examples, do not follow the arbitrary order of motifs in the combat scheme very closely. However, the two longer combats are exceptional in the degree to which they deviate from the order, for example in the appearance of reaction from the onlookers (11910-14) at the beginning of the encounter, or in the middle (11993-97).

The two longer combats also contain a much stronger element of repetition than the shorter combats. Several motifs are repeated in each combat, but primarily the descriptions of the protagonists, physical and mental (Motifs C and D), the reactions of the onlookers (Motif AI), and the exchanging of 'unsuccessful' sword-blows (Motif R). The overall effect of this repetition is to create the impression of a much longer, more gruelling combat, and one in which we are made much more aware of the reactions of the fighters and the onlookers. This is entirely consistent with these being the two climactic combats of the text.

3.2.2.2 Additional motifs

The two longer single combats also contain elements which are not found elsewhere, or which occur only once in the shorter combats and are not represented by the combat scheme. These are listed below; those marked with an asterisk appear once in the shorter combats as well. These motifs can be divided roughly into two groups: those that provide additional details of the combat, and those that belong to the juridical nature of the two long combats.

List of additional motifs in the two long combats

Karl v. Paligan (10067-305)

Protagonist announces intention to kill opponent/s	(10067-73)
Protagonist spies out opponent's whereabouts	(10074-75)
Protagonist's intention to be first to reach opponent	(10076)
Protagonist prays for divine assistance	(10083-91)
*Lances remain whole on impact	(10109-11)
Saddles break	(10112-13)
Onlookers unable to interfere	(10116-28)
Combat is to the death	(10134)
There is no official here to separate protagonists	(10152-53)
Extreme duration of the combat	(10164-66)
Protagonist refuses mercy	(10191-210)
Protagonist issues counter-challenge	(10231-37)
*Protagonists cannot pierce armour	(10247)
Protagonist begins to tire	(10248-50)
Protagonist wears two hauberks	(10252)
*Protagonist cannot pierce opponent's armour	(10251-55)
Protagonist's blow cuts off opponent's hair	(10260-62)
*Divine assistance	(10267-82)
Protagonist receives new strength	(10283-88)
Protagonist acknowledges divine assistance	(10289)
*Protagonist falls at feet of opponent	(10293)
*Divine assistance	(10296-300)

Dietrich v. Pinabel (11793-12077)

Combat agreed formally	(11845-11886)
Karl requests all in area to pray for right to prevail	(11887-92)
Protagonists arrive at the field	(11893-94)
Circle is drawn	(11895)
Protagonists' horses are made ready	(11896)
Protagonists are made ready	(11897)
Protagonists arm themselves	(11898-11902)
Protagonists mount their horses	(11904)
Karl prays for right to prevail	(11920-21)
Guard set around protagonist	(11922-25)
Interference forbidden on pain of death	(11926-32)
Officials give signal	(11935)
Protagonists ready to strike each other with lances	(11937-38)
Protagonists dismount	(11943)
Onlookers do not dare interfere	(11944-48)
Protagonists hold shields ready	(11950)
Protagonists close on foot with swords	(11951-52)
Onlookers pray for right to prevail	(11961-63)
Protagonist inspired by sword he carries	(11964-73)
Protagonists demonstrate their intentions	(11982-83)
*Protagonists take swords in both hands	(11984-85)
*Motive of protagonists	(11986-87)
*Sparks fly from sword-blows	(11990b-91)
*Divine intervention	(11998-99)
Protagonist offers to surrender on terms	(12006-15)
Protagonist offers mercy on terms	(12016-30)
Protagonist refuses terms	(12031-36)
Protagonist threatens opponent	(12037-44)
Protagonists can do nothing more than defend themselves	(12050-51)
Protagonists in hand of *sælde*	(12052-54)
sælde intercedes for protagonist	(12055)
*Protagonist stunned	(12060-62)
Protagonist turns sword in his hand	(12066-67)
Protagonist kneels on ground	(12073)
Protagonist takes off helmet from head	(12074)
Protagonist impales head on lance	(12075)
Protagonist remounts	(12076)
Protagonist returns to court	(12077)

3.2.2.2.1 Additional details

The first group of motifs mainly concerns descriptive elements generally missing from the shorter combats, such as the famous sparks flying from the sword-blades (11991).[45] In the combat between Karl and Paligan, Stricker uses the motif of the saddles or saddle-girths breaking and the protagonists continuing the combat on foot (10112-15).[46] There is also more emphasis on the initial difficulty involved in piercing the opponent's armour. This is enhanced in the case of the combat between Karl and Paligan by the fact that the latter wears two hauberks, a feat which emphasises his great strength (10144-45, 10251-55).

The motif of turning the sword in one's hand appears during the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel:

> under des warf Dietrich
> Durndarte den andern ecke dar (12066-67)

This motif ('den andern ecke dar werfen' or 'in der hant umbe werfen') appears also in the *Rolandslied* at this point (*Rolandslied* 8982). This suggests that the protagonist turns his sword around in his hand in order to strike with the other cutting edge, which has not so far been blunted by use. This motif occurs in several other texts (Davidson, 1994, 200), and is entirely consistent with the two-edged swords in contemporary usage. Another possibility, given the slightly different phrase used in *Karl*, is that Dietrich is cutting with the false edge (or back edge) of his sword. In this case, he would deliver a horizontal blow travelling from left to right, with the palm of his sword-hand facing upwards. This is perhaps less likely, because it would deliver a less powerful blow than one dealt from left to right with the palm down. Another motif regarding the handling of the sword which appears only in the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel is that of the protagonists taking their sword in both hands (11984-85). This suggests that both combatants are dealing particularly heavy blows.

The general effect of the addition of these motifs, as with the repetition of motifs used elsewhere, is to lengthen these two combats and to make them appear both more spectacular and more gruelling.

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[45] Bode notes this motif among others (Bode, 1909, 197-213).
[46] Hartmann and Wolfram both also use the motif of the saddle-girths breaking; see for instance *Erec* 816-18; *Parzival* 197,4-7.

3.2.2.2.2 'Juridical' details

The motifs of the second group give both the longer encounters an air of formality which the shorter combats lack. Formality is clearly required in the judicial combat between Dietrich and Pinabel, and is manifested in details such as the drawing of the circle (11895) and the forbidding of interference (11926-32). The beheading of the defeated opponent (12068-69), although belonging to the combat scheme, also suggests a formal conclusion to the combat. Nevertheless, the encounter between Karl and Paligan also contains details and references to specific vocabulary that suggest that Stricker is presenting both of these encounters to some extent as 'juridicial' combats.

Further formalisation in both combats is suggested by the reactions of the onlookers, who are placed in the role of helpless spectators in both cases:

> dô habten diu her wider,
> die kristen und die heiden.
> daz was wol kunt in beiden,
> ob si zuo gesprenget hæten,
> daz si diu ros ertræten.
> dâ wære worden ein strît,
> daz si beide in kurzer zît
> daz leben muosen fliesen. (10116-23)

> ouch hiez er sagen über al
> swer dâ hüebe deheinen strît,
> ez wære sîn jungestiu zît,
> er wære arm oder rîche,
> und swuor vil ernestlîche,
> swer in den kreis kæme,
> daz man im daz leben næme. (11926-32, see also 11944-48)

Both combats also include the joust with lances and the duel with swords. It is particularly interesting that, although Stricker has Karl and Paligan simultaneously knocked from their saddles in the joust, Dietrich and Pinabel dismount, apparently of their own free will ('dô erbeizten si beide', 11943). This appears to indicate a stylised or ritualised pattern which Stricker is following.

In addition, in the encounter between Karl and Paligan, so wide a space has been cleared around the two protagonists that no-one can intervene to separate them. The term used to describe the individual who might be expected to intervene is 'griezwarte':

> in was alsô gerûmet
> daz si dehein griezwarte schiet (10152-53)

The *griezwarte* is the official who oversees the judicial combat and has the authority to intervene should there be any infringement of the rules. In the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel, the combatants are addressed by the *griezwarten* before beginning the combat (11935).

Direct requests for divine intervention and the answering of prayers are also prominent in the combats between Karl and Paligan and Dietrich and Pinabel. Although calls for divine assistance are not unknown in the single combats, the motif is given especial prominence in the two longer combats. Of the four or five instances of direct celestial intervention in the text, two occur within these climactic single combats.

The first instance of prayer comes at the beginning of the combat between Karl and Paligan. The emperor sees the approaching Saracen and prays for aid to avenge Roland (10083-91); this is a variant of Motif A that occurs in none of the shorter combats. Karl's prayer is answered by a voice from heaven (10267-82) assuring him that judgement has fallen against Paligan (again suggestive of a juridical combat). Immediately, Karl is granted a miraculous burst of strength and acknowledges the divine assistance (10283-89) before striking Paligan down.

Likewise, before the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel, Karl orders the inhabitants of the town and the monastery to pray for right to prevail (11887-92). Karl also prays for Dietrich's safety (11920-21), and the onlookers, obedient to his orders, pray throughout the combat (Coulin, 1909, 46-47). The weak Dietrich, however, already has a measure of divine assistance in the sword Durendart originally granted by an angel, now used to avenge its wielder Roland:

> swâ im des lîbes kraft erwant,
> dâ trat aber Durndart für (11972-73)[47]

When the combat reaches its climax, Stricker refers to 'diu sælde' (12052-55), and Dietrich himself taunts his opponent:

> ich wæne uns got bescheiden habe,
> sprach Dietrich wider in,
> daz ich mit rehte hie bin. (12070-72)[48]

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[47] The narrator repeatedly mentions the disadvantages Dietrich suffers, being considerably smaller than his opponent, Pinabel (11878-81; 11905-06; 11910-12; 11953-57; 11972-73). The advantage of height in combat should not be underestimated (Silver, 1599, 45-46).

[48] Dietrich's words here are an instance of Motif AG, the taunting of the fallen opponent. Nevertheless, in this combat they are borne out by the divine intervention on Dietrich's behalf, which is not the case in the shorter combats (for example 5023-29).

Just as the shorter combats in *Karl* present the spiritual opposition in the motifs of challenge, counter-challenge and taunting of the fallen opponent, forming a frame around the actual physical combat, in the two longer combats again the physical struggle is framed by the prayers of the Christian protagonist or the onlookers, and their gratitude as the prayers are answered. The verbal phase which in the shorter descriptions occasionally occurs in the middle of the combat is present in both longer combats and is considerably extended (see 10167-237; 12006-44). In both cases, the Christian protagonist is offered 'worldly goods' if he will renounce the motives that have caused him to undertake the combat.

Although, as argued above, a simple invocation of divine assistance does not automatically classify a combat as a judicial combat, the fact that in both of the two longer encounters the Christian protagonist's prayers are answered plainly demonstrates that God is indeed intervening to ensure that justice prevails. In both cases, the result is determined by divine judgement – both combats are, then, juridical combats. However, they are not both judicial combats in the full meaning of the word.

The combat between Dietrich and Pinabel, as with its equivalents in the *Rolandslied* and the *Chanson de Roland*, is unmistakably a judicial combat, designed to find a judgement in a legal case against Genelun, who has been accused of *mort* (11718-19, 11724-25). Pinabel takes it upon himself to prove Genelun's innocence against 'swer zuo mir tritet in den kreiz' (11804-06) and Dietrich offers to act as Karl's champion:

> er gie hin für den keiser stân
> und sprach: herre ir hoeret wol,
> daz man Pinabellen kempfen sol.
> der kempfe wil ich gerne sîn (11816-19)

Dietrich further explicitly wishes that God might judge the two combatants (11843-44).

Hostages are taken for both combatants (11850-51); thirty of Genelun's supporters volunteer (Michel, 1979), and Karl himself provides hostages for Dietrich. As previously mentioned, Karl requests prayers from all the surrounding people (Coulin, 1909, 46-7), and the combat takes place in a *kreiz* marked out specifically for the event (11895). Once the combat has ended, Karl confers to determine a fitting punishment. Genelun's hostages are beheaded, but Genelun himself is pulled apart by four horses (*Karl* 12121-45). All of these proceedings are

overseen by Karl who is variously mentioned as sitting 'an sîn gerihte' (11670) and as 'der rihtære' (11707). The reference to the *griezwarten* who attend the combat only confirms that this is indeed a full judicial combat, used as a legal procedure.

The encounter between Karl and Paligan, on the other hand, although it shares many details with the combat between Dietrich and Pinabel, lacks almost all of the elements of the judicial combat itself. The reference to the *griezwarte* in this combat (10152-53) suggests that Stricker is drawing a parallel with the judicial combat, but all other legal trappings are absent. The onlookers are unable to intervene, but have not been forbidden to do so (10116-20).

The combat between Karl and Paligan is not, then, a judicial combat. However, it can be described as an informal battle of champions. The encounter is not pre-arranged between the two sides, but Paligan searches for Karl with the aim of engaging him personally in combat (10074-76). The result of the combat also determines the result of the battle: once Paligan has been killed, his men flee the field and are cut down. Karl and Paligan are fighting as champions for their respective armies as well as for their respective causes. This mirrors the way in which the short single combats are presented.

3.3 Comparison with the *Rolandslied*

Given the links between Stricker's *Karl* and Konrad's *Rolandslied*, a brief comparison with the single combats in Konrad's work is appropriate. In the *Rolandslied*, as in *Karl*, many short single combats are portrayed, along with the two longer combats between Karl and Paligan, and between Tirrich and Binabel, which makes it possible to compare Konrad's combats with the combat scheme derived from *Karl*.

3.3.1 The short single combats in the *Rolandslied*

The single combats in *Karl* are based largely on those found in Konrad's *Rolandslied*, but Stricker does not adhere slavishly to his source. The *Rolandslied* depicts 54 short single combats to *Karl*'s 53. Many of Stricker's combats are clearly based on Konrad's, since the protagonists' names correspond (e.g. Roland v. Adalrot, *Rolandslied* 4017-79 and Roland v. Alderot, *Karl* 4968-5047). Some of the combats in the *Rolandslied* have no equivalents in *Karl*, however (see for example Malprimis v. Egeris, *Rolandslied* 4487-552). The most significant of these take place during the second battle (see *Rolandslied* 8217-25, 8239-48, 8268-76), where Stricker's version diverges most clearly from his source, relying on descriptions of mêlée in preference to single combat.

The single combats in the *Rolandslied* are not significantly different from those in *Karl* in terms of the motifs used, and the combat scheme developed from the single combats in *Karl* can be applied with some success to the *Rolandslied* combats as well. There are, however, some differences. Konrad refers to protagonists taking aim with the sword (*Rolandslied* 5060), and thrusting with the sword (*Rolandslied* 4902).[49] Konrad also twice has his protagonists unable to pierce their opponents' armour with their lances (*Rolandslied* 4796, 4893-94).[50] Motif T from *Karl* (Sword rings) does not appear in Konrad's version; on the other hand, Konrad refers to the action of turning the sword in the hand (*Rolandslied* 4065, 5585). Other motifs from *Karl* do not appear, or appear only once during the course of Konrad's short single combats: Motifs O

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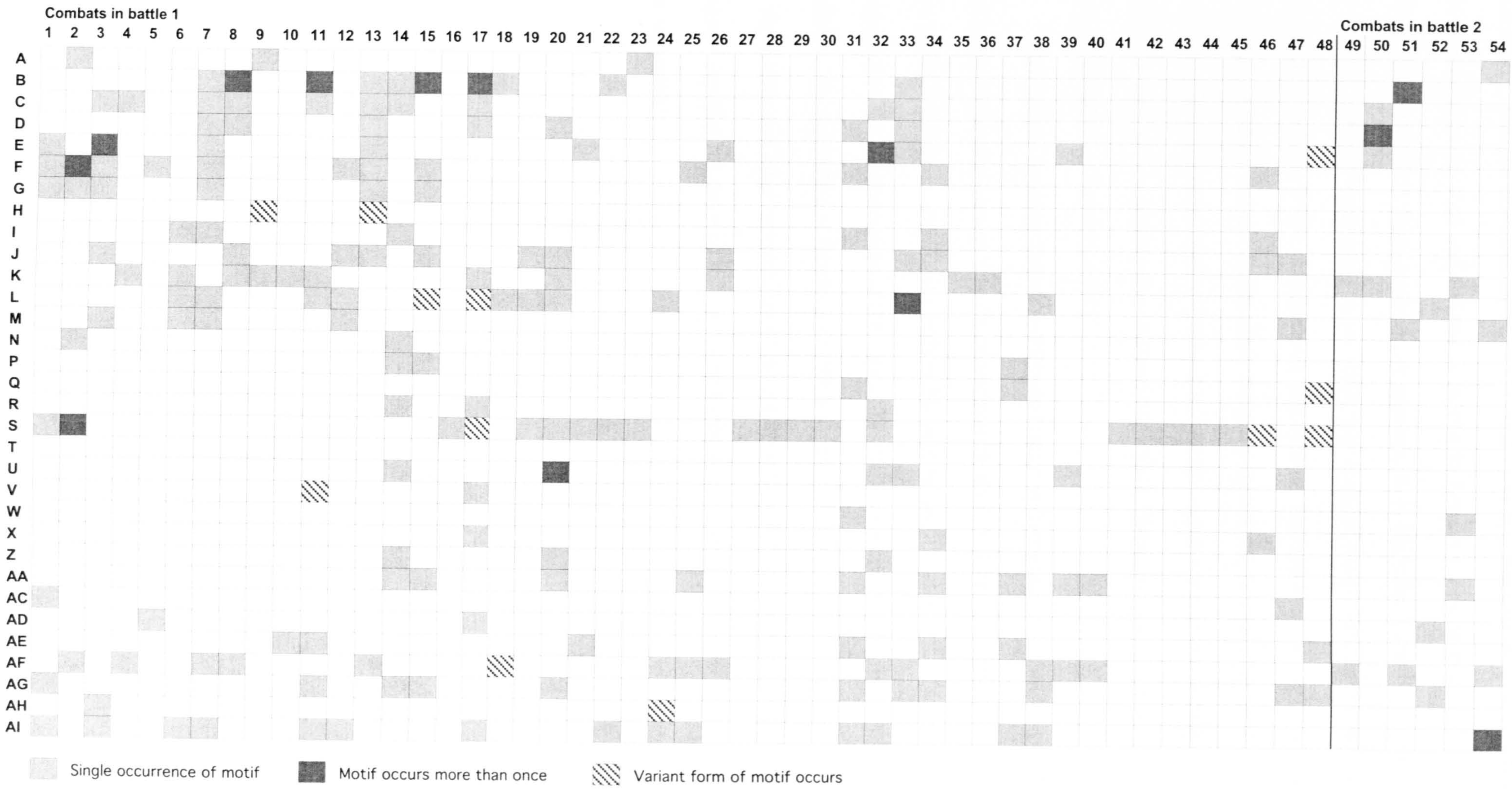
[49] Stricker refers to aiming with the lance (*Karl* 5639, compare *Rolandslied* 4630-31), but since it only appears in one combat it is not included in the combat scheme for *Karl*.
[50] Again, this motif appears in *Karl*, but only once during the short single combats (*Karl* 5816-19, compare *Rolandslied* 4796).

(Protagonist draws back lance), W (Protagonist's morale affected), Y (Protagonist closes with opponent again) and AB (Protagonist splits opponent's shoulders).

3.3.1.1 The distribution of the motifs in the *Rolandslied*

The distribution of the motifs used in the *Rolandslied* likewise resembles that in *Karl* (see spreadsheet below). There are again, however, small differences: Stricker makes more use than Konrad of the 'framework' motifs (Motifs B-G, AF and AI), especially in the first half of the first battle, and seems to place more emphasis on the roles of the individual combatants as 'champions' for their respective forces. Stricker also seems to concentrate slightly more than Konrad on motifs describing the joust with lances, again in the first stages of the first battle. Aside from this, however, the distribution of the motifs in the two texts is remarkably similar.

Distribution of motifs in the single combats in the *Rolandslied*



3.3.2 Karl v. Paligan (*Rolandslied* 8439-575) and Tirrich v. Binabel (*Rolandslied* 8785-987)

The combat between Karl and Paligan is shorter in Konrad's version than in Stricker's (136 lines compared to 233). Both combats use approximately the same number of motifs found in the combat scheme established from *Karl*, but Konrad uses more additional motifs (25 compared to Stricker's 19). Konrad does not include any reference to the *griezwarte* (*Karl* 10152-53), but does include details about Paligan's fighting style which are not found in *Karl*: Paligan is restrained in his actions (*Rolandslied* 8522) and uses *list* in his combat (*Rolandslied* 8523). He also moves quickly (see *Rolandslied* 8534). There are also references to defensive actions (*Rolandslied* 8452-55, 8521).

The combat between Tirrich and Binabel (*Rolandslied* 8785-987, see Canisius-Loppnow, 1992, 251-65) is also shorter than its counterpart in *Karl* (202 lines compared to 284). Konrad also includes far fewer additional motifs in his version, and those which he does include are all connected to the judicial nature of the combat (formalisations (8859-96), the forming of a circle (8902-4), the forbidding of interference (8905-8), etc.). Konrad also fails to include details such as the arming and other preparations of the combatants which are found in Stricker's version. It appears that Konrad devoted less attention to the judicial combat than to the combat between the monarchs.

3.4 Summary

The single combats in *Karl* are repetitive in structure, as has been demonstrated, described through the use of a range of recurring motifs. Even the combats between Karl and Paligan, and Dietrich and Pinabel, although they contain additional motifs designed to emphasise the length of the combats, and to formalise the encounters, rely on the same basic set of motifs.

Likewise, the single combats in *Karl* are designed to demonstrate one fundamental theme, which is repeated in each encounter: the superiority of Karl, Roland and their men over the Saracens, and the justice of their cause in fighting against them. Each of the combats demonstrates this basic concept, and it is frequently made explicit in the verbal exchanges between the protagonists and the taunting of the fallen Saracen opponent at the end of the encounter. Many of the short combats emphasise the fundamental conflict yet further by separating the combatants from their two forces, who are then placed in the role of spectators as the two protagonists fight. This prefigures the climactic combat between Karl and Paligan themselves, who act as (informal) champions for their two armies. God's approval of Karl's actions is finally demonstrated and the justice of the Christian cause underlined by the victory of Dietrich over Pinabel in the judicial combat. Stricker follows his source more or less faithfully in the depictions of single combat, and the role of the single combats in *Karl*, as in the *Rolandslied*, is uncomplicated. The same cannot, however, be said of the single combats in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal.*

4. The single combats in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*

4.1 Categories of combats

Whereas in *Karl* we are presented with a series of single combats mainly set during battle, between Christians and Saracens, in *Daniel* the combats are considerably more diverse. In *Karl*, all of the protagonists are 'normal' human figures, similarly armed and equipped, and use the same fighting techniques. In *Daniel*, on the other hand, the single combats feature a wide range of types of opponent, with diverse weapons, armour, and techniques of fighting. In addition, none of the *Daniel* single combats take place during the course of the battles depicted in the text. Daniel himself is involved in almost all of the single combats, but this is almost the only thing which all of the combats have in common.

The single combats in *Daniel* can be divided into three groups:

1. Combats between knights:	Daniel v. Keiî (169-221) Daniel v. Troiman du Gereit (243-45) Daniel v. Gressamant (246-47) Daniel v. Gengemôr, Linvâl, Alom, Schaitîs, Pribandrôn, Belamîs (248-53) Daniel v. Gawein (264-80) Daniel v. Iwein (281-85) Daniel v. Parzival (288-93) Artus v. Matur (2959-3081) [Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen v. anonymous knight (2454-89)] Daniel v. anonymous knight (4015-108)
2. Combats against giants:	Daniel v. first giant (2751-844) [Keii v. second giant (3224-302)] Daniel v. second giant (3781-824)
3. Combats against monsters:	Daniel v. Juran (1493-738) Daniel v. *bûchlôser valant* (1977-2206) Daniel v. *sieche* (4563-800) [Parzival v. father of the giants (7176-215)] Daniel v. father of the giants (7218-486)

(Detailed summaries of these combats are given in Appendix 2)

The combats enclosed in square brackets are not treated in detail. The encounter between the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen and the anonymous knight (2454-89) is cut short before a blow is struck, and only briefly reported later (4473-514), and the encounter between Keiî and the second giant (3224-302) involves little actual combat and is instead an opportunity for comedy

at Keiî's expense. This is also true of the encounter between Parzival and the father of the giants (7176-215).

The combat scheme established for the single combats in *Karl* can be applied only to few of the combats in *Daniel* with any useful results. These, as might be expected, are generally the combats between knights, which resemble combats in *Karl* and in the Arthurian tradition. Of the other combats, the encounters with giants have counterparts both in the Arthurian romance and in the epic traditions. The combats against monsters, on the other hand, appear to be largely Stricker's own invention, since the monsters themselves (with the exception of the dwarf Juran) bear little similarity to figures in any of Stricker's potential sources. Even where the single combats in *Daniel* can be said to be influenced by one or other literary tradition, however, Stricker does not follow his sources slavishly.

Furthermore, where in *Karl* the single combat, particularly the longer combat, is used both to resolve conflicts (between Christians and Saracens), and to establish the 'heroic' stature of the hero (Karl, Roland and the other named Christians), in *Daniel* single combat is made, sometimes subtly, sometimes blatantly, to serve other purposes. Stricker's aim throughout appears to be to challenge his audience's expectations by altering key aspects of the combat, or of the combatants, and to provide a new point of view on the role of combat in literature.

4.2 Combats between knights

The combats between knights in *Daniel* can be divided into two groups, as in *Karl*: shorter and longer, and as in *Karl*, the shorter combats outnumber the longer. However, although the longer combats (Artus v. Matur; Daniel v. the anonymous knight) do resemble those found in *Karl*, the ethos of the shorter combats in *Daniel* bears almost no resemblance at all to the ethos found in Stricker's other work.

4.2.1 Short combats

The short combats between knights take the form of jousts which Daniel undertakes against a series of knights from Artus's court at the beginning of the text. These are almost ritualised encounters, in which the aim of the joust is solely the establishment of the protagonist's status among the other knights. The 'friendly' tone of these jousts – so different from the tone of the combats in *Karl* – is established from the beginning by the fact that Daniel's first opponent is the seneschal Keiî, a figure who, although he may challenge the Arthurian hero, is never a serious adversary.

4.2.1.1 Daniel v. Keiî (*Daniel* 169-221)

Keiî is one of the standard figures of Arthurian tradition, appearing both in the earlier and the later romances in various guises.[51] Chrétien and Hartmann depict Keiî as a boastful buffoon redeemed only by his (often misplaced) courage. Wolfram is more generous in his portrayal, but it is the negative side of Keiî that remains most prominent in the later Arthurian tradition. At the same time, Keiî's function as critic of the knights of Artus's court is given less and less importance.

In the earlier romances, i.e. *Erec*, *Iwein*, *Parzival*, Keiî acts as an *agent provocateur* (Haupt, 1971, 10). His words and actions often spur the other knights into action themselves.

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[51] 'Schon im "Iwein" zählt Keije zum personellen Kernbestand des Artushofes, und zwar in Kontrast zu Gawain als Figur, die erwartungsgemäß aus dem Verband der vorbildlichen Hofrepräsentanten ausgeschlossen bleibt.' Schneider, 1994, 132, see also Kern, 1974, 27.

This is clearest in the romances of Chrétien and Hartmann where Keiî's mockery or antagonism provokes reactions specifically from the hero of the romance. In *Iwein* the hero welcomes the opportunity, when defending the fountain, to repay Keiî for his criticism, while in *Erec* the hero punishes the seneschal not only for his temerity in seizing his horse's bridle, but also for his intention of claiming to have defeated and wounded Erec. Keiî's punishment takes the same form in both texts: he provokes a combat against the hero, whom he fails to recognise, and is unseated.

These combats between Keiî and the titular hero of the romance usually follow the same pattern. They are most frequently jousts (*tjoste*) without the second phase of combat (the duel with swords on foot). They typically use a selection of the following motifs (from the single combat scheme from *Karl*):

F: Protagonist issues challenge/taunt
G: Protagonist responds with challenge/taunt
H: Protagonist lowers lance
I: Protagonist spurs/urges horse onwards
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)
K: Protagonist strikes with lance
L: Protagonist pierces through shield/armour
N: Lance breaks
O: Protagonist draws back lance

It is necessary in the case of these jousts to distinguish between damage to the shield and damage to armour. The former occurs in *Parzival* (*Parzival* 295,13-15), while the latter does not occur at all.

The encounters between the hero and Keiî are generally relatively bloodless. The resolution to these combats is typically Keiî's unseating, rather than the wounding or death of one or other of the protagonists.[52] Keiî's status as a member of Artus's court also tends to preserve him from harm at the hands of the hero, who is either another member of the court or at least familiar with the knights. The combats have something of a light-hearted air, and are frequently the occasion of comedy at Keiî's expense.

In Hartmann and Wolfram (as in Chrétien) the combat is initiated by Keiî. In *Parzival* and *Iwein* the seneschal makes the first 'hostile' move: see *Parzival* 290,8-21, *Iwein* 2547-48. In

[52] This is not to imply that jousting was devoid of any danger; Wolfram has Keiî injured in his fall (see *Parzival* 295,17-27). Grundmann, 1939, 153, notes the importance for a knight to be able to fall from his horse without injuring himself.

Iwein and *Parzival*, Keiî specifically requests permission from Artus to joust against the unknown opponent, whereas in *Erec* Keiî happens on the hero by chance.

Although these combats are not as central to the narrative or as serious in tone as are for example Erec's combat with Mabonagrin or Iwein's with Gawein, they do each have a serious background: Erec is genuinely angered by Kei's *valsch* (*Erec* 4629[56]-704); Iwein is obligated to defend his newly-won lands against challengers (*Iwein* 2542-46); Parzival is mistakenly perceived as a threat to Artus's encampment.[53] In this last case, the situation is doubly hazardous: not only is Parzival himself oblivious of his surroundings but Artus and his knights are unusually wary, knowing that they are close to the territory of the Grail King Anfortas and his *templeisen* (*Parzival* 280,1-281,8).

Each of the combats begins with Keiî's direct provocation of the hero, either a direct verbal taunt (Motif F) or, in the case of *Iwein*, reference back to a previous verbal exchange between the hero and Keiî (*Iwein* 803-36, 2557-64). These verbal elements exemplify Keiî's character: quick to threaten (*Parzival* 293,30-294,8), and to mock (*Parzival* 294,13-20, *Iwein* 815-36, 2561-63).

In all of these episodes, the impressions created by Keiî's speech are emphasised by a brief narratorial excursus on his character. The most hostile of these appears in *Erec* (*Erec* 4634-64), and the most favourable in *Parzival*, where Wolfram specifically refutes claims that Keiî is a 'ribbalt' (*Parzival* 296,18).

The joust between Keiî and the hero typically extends no further than the first exchange of blows. *Erec* is the only exception, where Keiî grasps Erec's reins. Erec goes as far as drawing his sword with the intent to strike, and Keiî avoids losing his hand only by recoiling just in time (*Erec* 4710-13). This encounter is unusual in that Keiî does not attempt to joust with Erec or even to defend himself: instead he flees 'âne strît' (*Erec* 4713). For once, Keiî is in real danger

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[53] The description of the knight waiting or riding with upraised spear appears both in *Parzival*: 'Uf gerihtiu sper wir müezen sehen' (281,1), 'mit ûf gerihtem sper' (290,12), 'als er tjostierns wolde pflegen / gevart, mit ûf gerihtem sper.' (284,2-3), 'mit ûf gerihtem sper' (593,24) and in *Garel*: 'mit ûfgeworfem sper' (17922). In all instances, the upraised lance is interpreted by those who see it as a challenge. It is possible that this gesture is related to the one recorded in the *chansons de geste* as 'brandir la lance'; see Heinemann, 1974.

but fortunately Erec notices that Keiî is not wearing armour and strikes him only with the butt of his lance.

Keiî is unhorsed in all three encounters, but his performances in the joust seem to bear out Wolfram's claim that he is a valiant knight – 'Keie der ellens rîche' (*Parzival* 293,19). In *Erec*, of course, he does not even attempt to strike his opponent, but in *Iwein* he splinters his lance right up to the hand (*Iwein* 2581-83), and in *Parzival* he pierces his opponent's shield (*Parzival* 295,13-15). The degree of Keiî's success in the encounter corresponds to the way in which he is presented by the narrator: in *Erec* he appears as a cheat, while in *Parzival* he is clearly a skilful knight, if still unable to defeat Parzival himself.

Keiî suffers a range of ill-effects when he is unseated. In *Iwein*, he falls from the saddle 'als ein sac' (*Iwein* 2585) and is briefly stunned, suffering no more than Iwein's mockery (*Iwein* 2589-600). On the other hand, Wolfram has Keiî and his horse together knocked over backwards with such force that the horse dies and Keiî is injured (*Parzival* 295,17-27). In *Erec*, Keiî is simply knocked from his saddle and, as in Chrétien, immediately jumps up to beg Erec to return Gawein's horse. The general impression is that Chrétien and Hartmann see the combat between Keiî and the hero primarily as 'light relief', while Wolfram takes Keiî more seriously. It should also be noted that both Erec and Iwein recognise Keiî, and that Erec at least modifies his actions in order to avoid injuring the seneschal. Parzival on the other hand is oblivious of his entire surroundings and of Keiî's identity.

The result of the combat between Keiî and the hero is measured in Chrétien, Hartmann and Wolfram by Keiî's unseating and loss of his horse. A knight is physically dependent on his horse, particularly in Arthurian romance where so much emphasis is placed on the joust. Hartmann's Kalogrenant is forced to abandon his armour altogether after being unhorsed by Ascalon (*Iwein* 773-79). The worth of a horse bred and trained for a knight should also not be underestimated. Nonetheless, the hero does not take possession of Keiî's horse after unseating him. Iwein has already disgraced Keiî by knocking him out of the saddle in front of Artus and his knights and does not need to emphasise his victory further (*Iwein* 2601-08). Erec, on the other hand, does intend to take Keiî's horse, but returns it after hearing Keiî's hasty explanation that the horse does not in fact belong to him (*Erec* 4807-12). Parzival's case, as before, is rather

different. Parzival is fighting instinctively and, distracted by Minne, does not even notice what happens to his opponent's horse.

The combat between the hero and Keiî in Chrétien and Hartmann, then, is principally a non-serious affair, marked by humour in the portrayal of the seneschal. Nevertheless, these encounters are all set against a more serious background: Iwein has killed Ascalon in his trespass on the lands which he must now defend, and Erec is close to maiming the irrepressible Keiî in his anger. Wolfram takes this serious background and gives it more prominence; his combat is the most serious – and dangerous – that Keiî faces.

Haupt (1971) and Müller (1981) see Stricker's version of the combat between Daniel and Keiî as a simple imitation of the encounter in Hartmann's *Iwein*. Certainly there are many similarities to *Iwein*, including in particular the description of Keiî's character and the use of certain phrases in the depiction of the combat (Rosenhagen, 1890, 58; Haupt, 1971, 108-09; Müller, 1981, 58). Nevertheless, the encounter between Daniel and Keiî differs from the combats discussed above in various ways.

Perhaps the most important difference lies in the description of the hero. Unlike the earlier romances, *Daniel* and other later Arthurian romances do not depict the development of the hero into the ideal knight (see Müller, 1981, 59; Pingel, 1994, 188). Daniel, like other later heroes, arrives at Artus's court as a 'parfit knight', and the adventures which follow do no more than confirm his status. As Haupt points out, this leaves no real need for the provocation which stimulates growth, and hence Keiî is reduced to the humbler role of court jester (see Haupt, 1971, 110-11; Müller, 1981, 60).

This change in the function of Keiî is signalled in *Daniel* in that, unlike in Hartmann or Wolfram, it is not Keiî who initiates the combat with the hero, although he does approach him (160-62). Rather, Keiî is addressed by the stranger, who courteously invites him to joust (173-74). Keiî has not previously provoked Daniel; this is the hero's first encounter with any of Artus's knights. This highlights the second major difference between this encounter and those in Hartmann and Wolfram: the motivation of the hero. Whereas Erec, Iwein and Parzival all know Keiî, and Iwein and Parzival both have good reason to wish to defeat him, Daniel's motivation

is quite different (see Müller, 1981, 59). The hero wishes to test himself against one of the fabled knights of Artus's court to see if he can meet his match (165-68).

This combat also lacks the underlying seriousness of the previous examples. Daniel is not fighting in order to preserve his lands or to defend himself, and Keiî has simply ridden out into the woods 'nâch âventiure' (151-54). By placing the encounter at the beginning of the text, and by removing the elements of provocation and revenge, Stricker has transformed the combat between Daniel and Keiî into a friendly contest, designed purely to establish Daniel's rank in comparison with the knights of the court.

Although it is Daniel who offers to joust (Motif F), Stricker's Keiî, true to form, cannot keep his mouth shut: 'er was ein klaffaere' (155). Although Stricker admits that he is the bravest of men (147-50),[54] he is also a braggart:

> „ir möhtet aber anderswâ
> groezern prîs bejagen.
> ich machte sie alle ze zagen
> die mich ie geriten an.
> mich bestuont nie kein man,
> ichn bereite in mit einem valle." (176-81)

True to the audience's expectations, this is the perfect example of pride coming before a fall (Kern, 1974, 28). The combat which follows is, as in *Iwein*, a simple joust, although Stricker gives the fuller description of the motifs:

> dô liezen sie zesamen gân.
> sie neigten diu sper ûf die brust
> daz was ietweders gelust
> daz er den andern valte.
> mit solichem gewalte
> begunden sie zesamen komen. (188-93)

The joust has the predictable result; Keiî is thrown from his horse (Motif V; *Daniel* 194-99, compare *Parzival* 79,27-29 and *Iwein* 4695-713).[55] The result of Keiî's fall in *Daniel* is very similar to that in *Iwein*: the seneschal falls heavily to the ground and seems to have been winded or stunned:

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[54] Pingel, 1994, 42:'Verglichen mit der "klassischen" Artusliteratur kann man beim Stricker trotzdem von einer graduellen Aufwertung Keies sprechen'.

[55] The phrase 'genomen / an der ritterschefte' (*Daniel* 194-95) is difficult to translate. One possible reading is that Keiî is taken (i.e. defeated, unhorsed and captured) as a result of this combat, with *ritterschefte* meaning not knighthood but a knightly combat. Alternatively, the phrase may mean that Keiî is found wanting, or that he is simply put out of action as a result of a knightly combat.

Keiî sprach niht dâ widere
er lac noch dâ nidere,
wand er vil unsanfte viel. (213-15)

Once Keiî has been unseated, Daniel takes possession of the seneschal's horse, but here the hero acts in a different way from Erec, Iwein or Parzival, although Daniel's gently mocking advice (Motif AG; *Daniel* 204-12, 216-19) is clearly based on *Iwein* 2589-600 (Kern, 1974, 28-29).[56] After having shamed Keiî by unseating him, Daniel returns the horse to its owner:

dô sprach herre Daniel:
„nemt iuwer ors, ob ir sîn gert" (*Daniel* 216-17)

Daniel may be demonstrating that he is aware of the rules of Artus's court, and be relying on Keiî to admit his defeat of his own free will (111-12). Keiî, of course, does no such thing, but his uncharacteristic reticence on returning to court immediately gives the game away. The result of Daniel's courteous gesture is to reinforce the impression which has already been gained of this combat. This is a friendly competition between two strangers.

By way of comparison, the encounter between the hero and Kei in *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*, Pleier's reworking of the *Daniel* material in a style more reminiscent of the earlier romances (Haupt, 1971, 111, Schröder, 1986, 823), could not be more different from Stricker's version. Once again, the hero is placed in the position of being able to repay Kei for his earlier taunts by demonstrating his superior prowess at the joust, although Kei's mockery does not stimulate any development in Garel's character since, like Daniel, he appears as a perfect knight throughout. The combat in *Garel* is considerably longer than those which precede it, and includes at the end a long verbal exchange.

As in the encounters discussed above, Kei enters into combat with Garel without being aware of his opponent's identity, whereas Garel is fully aware of Kei's and plans his joust accordingly to puncture Kei's overblown pride (*Garel* 17765-89, 17923-40). As in the earlier romances, however, this light-hearted piece of revenge is set against a serious backdrop: Artus has been challenged by the monarch Ekunaver and has set out to meet the challenge with his army. Although Garel has defeated Ekunaver, no word of this has yet reached Artus and his knights. While on the march, Artus's army encounters another force which to all appearances

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[56] Erec does return Keiî's horse on learning that it belongs to Walwan (*Erec* 4735-834), but his initial intention is clearly to take it (*Erec* 4734).

belongs to Ekunaver, but which is actually led by Garel. Kei's reconnaissance mission is vital. After the encounter with Kei, the first thing that Garel does is to send a messenger to Artus to avert any unnecessary hostilities.

Kei's reputation comes off even worse in his encounter with Garel than it does in the other romances, in spite of the fact that his joust is perfectly respectable (*Garel* 17994-95). Not only is he deprived of his horse, but Garel also takes his sword and helm, humiliating him far more thoroughly than in *Iwein* or *Erec*. Kei also mistakenly identifies Garel as one of Ekunaver's knights and has to suffer the mockery of Artus's court for his foolishness (*Garel* 18807-17).

Keiî loses both his helm and his sword because he attempts to prolong the combat beyond his unseating, something which does not occur in the earlier romances (Kern, 1981, 169). Pleier exaggerates Kei's *schalcheit* in comparison with his sources, and the seneschal's punishment is also accordingly exaggerated. Kei's plan is at first to appropriate Garel's horse for himself, and when this fails he loses his temper and attempts to draw his opponent into a duel with swords on foot (*Garel* 18105-17). However, Garel forestalls any further fighting in which either or both of the protagonists might easily be injured, and the tone of the combat turns once more to humour with Kei (as in *Iwein*) left stunned on the ground. Although the structure of the encounter is extended, Pleier does not allow the new elements to alter the conclusion of the combat, and the basic tone of Garel's encounter with Kei remains as it is in *Iwein* (see Kern, 1981, 170).

4.2.1.2 Daniel v. Artus's knights (*Daniel* 243-93)

The combat between Stricker's Daniel and Keiî marks the beginning of a series of jousts (Kern, 1974, 278), in which Daniel defeats a number of Artus's knights and faces Gawein, Iwein and Parzival, against each of whom he achieves a 'draw'.[57] All of these jousts are carried out in the same friendly spirit and are aimed merely at establishing that Daniel is the equal of Artus's best

[57] Schneider suggests that, since Daniel has established his status by achieving a 'draw' against Gawein, there is no narrative necessity for the jousts against Iwein and Parzival. He argues that the episode illustrates the levels of aggression and competitiveness at Artus's court, which are only contained safely by seizing opportunities for action – tournaments, jousts, *aventiure* (Schneider, 1994, 135). While there is clearly an element of competition among Artus's knights, Schneider's picture of Artus's court as a society permanently on the edge of chaos seems slightly exaggerated.

knights.[58] While Keiî is predictably a bad loser, these other knights are pleased by Daniel's success and welcome him immediately.[59] From playing a part in the maturing process of the hero in the earlier romances, in *Daniel*, the combat with Keiî becomes part of a test that the hero undergoes in order to establish his status among Artus's fellowship. The series of jousts against Artus's knights is a feature of a number of 'post-classical' Arthurian romances.

List of knights faced by the heroes of the following texts

***Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* 169-293**	**Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* 2357-3007**	**Heinrich von Freiberg's *Tristan*-continuation 1692-2125**	**Albrecht von Scharfenberg's *Jüngerer Titurel* 1319,1-1413,4**
[Keie]	[Walwein]	[Gawan]	[Teanglis]
Troiman du Gereit	Keie	Keie	Yblet
Gressamant	Iwân de Nônel	Dalkors	Arbidol
Gengemôr	Marcgrâve v. d. Lîle		(unnamed knights)
Linvâl	(unnamed knight)		Duranz von Troyes
Alom	Erec		Trakun von Ispanje
Schaitîs			Keye
Pribandron			Segremors
Belamîs			Aspinel
Gawein			Wigamur
Iwein			Orilus
Parzival			Morholt von Irlande

In each of the texts listed above, the hero's first joust leads on to a series of further combats. In *Daniel*, Keiî's defeat and return to court cause Troiman du Gereit and the other knights to ride out and challenge Daniel in their turn. In *Lanzelet*, the hero's meeting and inconclusive combat with Walwein leads him to his tournament victories over the Arthurian knights. Tristan also

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[58] 'Auffallend ist, daß der Sieg – abgesehen von Keiî, der aber in seiner negativen Zeichnung eine Sonderstellung einnimmt – nur über unbekannte Artusritter errungen wird, denen kein eigener Roman gewidmet ist. Die Protagonisten der klassischen Artusepen stehen in ihrer kämpferischen Leistung mit Daniel auf gleicher Stufe' (Müller, 1981, 51-52, see also Pingel, 1994, 50-51). However, Müller also argues that 'die zweite Konfrontation Daniels mit den Artusrittern [...] hebt die Ebenbürtigkeit auf'. By the time Daniel meets Gawein, Iwein and Parzival for a second time, he has won a magical sword and defeated an invulnerable giant. This recalls to some extent the double-cycle structure of the earlier romances.

[59] Although Stricker refers to *grimme* (272) and *nîde* (273) in the joust between Daniel and Gawein, these refer to the determination of the protagonists, rather than to actual enmity.

meets Gawan and jousts inconclusively with him before being taken to Karidol, where he then faces Keie and Dalkors. Albrecht von Scharfenberg's Tschinotulander sends the defeated Teanglis back to Artus with the challenge which is answered by a seemingly interminable list of knights.

Keiî/Keie is the first opponent in the actual series of combats both in *Lanzelet* and in the *Tristan*-continuation, as well as in *Daniel*. In all except the *Jüngerer Titurel*, these first encounters are clearly marked as 'friendly' by the fact that the hero is facing either Keiî/Keie or Gawein. This establishes the character of the series of encounters which follow. In *Daniel*, *Lanzelet* and the *Tristan*-continuation, the comic combat against Keiî/Keie contributes to the non-serious tone of the encounters. The *Jüngerer Titurel* is the exception: although Keye is given his usual role as braggart, his defeat is described only briefly and without any attempt at humour.

The combats which form the series of encounters usually take the form of a simple joust, as in *Daniel*. Exceptions to this rule include Lanzelet's encounter with Walwein (*Lanzelet* 2503-661) and with Erec (*Lanzelet* 2968-3007), and Tristan's encounter with Gawan (*Tristan* continuation 1692-866). In these combats, as in Daniel's combats against Gawein, Iwein and Parzival, the overall result is inconclusive. These inconclusive encounters are given more prominence than the simple jousts. The series of encounters is ended by an inconclusive combat in all of the texts except the *Jüngerer Titurel*. An inconclusive combat between the hero and the other knight not only establishes that the hero is fully as skilled and competent as Gawein, Iwein, Erec or Parzival, but it also sets up the motif of friendship between equals. This motif first appears in the combat between Gawein and the hero in Hartmann's *Iwein*, and it is most frequently Gawein who has the role of befriender of the hero.

Although it is the later romances which generally include lists of combats of this kind, the first instance of such a series of encounters is to be found in Wolfram's *Parzival*, which may well be the source of the later examples. Once again, Keie plays a prominent role. As described above, Parzival is entranced by the sight of the three drops of blood on the snow (*Parzival* 281,10-283,22) outside Artus's camp. He is seen by a page, who alerts the encampment but fails to see who the intruder is. Segramors immediately secures permission to joust with Parzival, but

is defeated – a fact which he tries to explain away on his return to the camp (*Parzival* 289,23-290,1). Keie instantly insists on jousting himself, and is also defeated and badly injured. Only Gawan thinks to cover the drops of blood and waken Parzival from his trance, upon which Parzival allows himself to be persuaded to accompany him to the encampment and is welcomed by the other knights.

However, as we have previously seen, the series of encounters in *Parzival* is not intended to establish the hero's position among the knights of Artus's court. Parzival has already won his reputation, at least as far as Artus and his court are concerned. It is this function of the series of encounters, as seen in *Daniel*, which is particular to the later romances. It is in *Daniel*, also, as in other later romances, that the series of combats appears as a type of friendly competition.[60]

In the later romances, then, we see the development of the figure of Keiî/Keie, and of his joust against the hero. Although the Keie of the later Arthurian romance has largely lost his function of criticism and provocation, it is not entirely true to say that the later Keie is totally lacking in function. Keiî/Keie, the mildly villainous buffoon, does play a part in the relationship between the hero and the knights of Artus's court. Defeating and humiliating the seneschal is a safe way for the hero to prove his worth. The other knights see this defeat as a challenge, but not, generally, as a threat. The hero has provided them with an excuse to laugh at Keie, and they are more likely to accept him in a friendly spirit. Once the hero has defeated Keie, he is

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[60] The change in the deeds which the hero must perform in order to be accepted by Artus's court is mirrored in the double meaning of the word *âventiure*. In the earlier romances, *âventiure* is used of actual quests and achievements, but in the *Tristan*-continuation the word is used to describe the casual jousts between the knights of the Round Table.

challenged by the other knights of Artus's court and given the chance to demonstrate his prowess both to them and to the audience.[61]

4.2.2 Long combats

There are two single combats in *Daniel* which correspond in length to the two long single combats in *Karl*. The combat between Artus and Matur in particular seems to resembles the battle of champions between Karl and Paligan to a high degree.[62] The combat between Daniel and the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe, although clearly Arthurian in setting, follows a similar pattern to that of the long single combats in *Karl*. However, neither of these combats has the outcome that Stricker's audience might have expected.

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[61] The series of jousts which Daniel undertakes against Artus's knights is strongly reminiscent of an offshoot of the tournament in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance called the *pas d'armes*, in which the participants would re-enact scenarios from Arthurian romance (Annunziata, 1980). This was less popular in Germany than in France, Burgundy and Spain, since the cost of of staging a *pas* was prohibitive, except for the richest noblemen (Keen, 1984, 209). The scenario most frequently depicted was one that appears first in *Yvain* and *Iwein*, where a knight comes upon a magical fountain and summons its guardian to combat. Anglo notes that there are some distinct differences between the scenario in the Arthurian romances and the *pas d'armes* version (see Anglo, 1975, 21). Keen, on the other hand, refers to a slightly different form of the *pas*, in which the participating knights would simply ride into the woods in the roles of Arthurian knights errant and joust with all comers (Keen, 1984, 204). He sees the *pas d'armes* primarily as a development of the fashion for individual jousts in the later Middle Ages, but suggests that it may have older origins: 'There is surely some anticipation of it in Anna Comnena's story of the French knight at Constantinople in 1096, who told her father that "at the crossroads in the country where I come from there stands an old sanctuary, to which everyone who desires to fight in single combat goes ready accoutred, and there prays to God while he waits in expectation of the man who will dare to fight him. At those crossroads I have often tarried, waiting and longing for an antagonist."' (Keen, 1984, 203, see also Strickland, 1998, 334-35). It is possible that the topos of the series of jousts from the later Arthurian romances also influenced the development of the *pas d'armes*, and that in this case life is imitating art. Keen certainly sees literature as a major influence on the *pas* (Keen, 1984, 204). However, as Anglo points out, literary depictions are themselves frequently based on real experience (Anglo, 1975, 293).

[62] Gürttler, 1976, 229, claims that Stricker is drawing on Konrad's depiction of the single combat between Karl and Paligan in his description of Artus's victory over Matur (see also Rosenhagen, 1890, 52-53). She notes similarities between the following passages in particular: 1. *Daniel* 3020-25 and *Rolandslied* 8439-43 (protagonists unseated by force of joust); 2. *Daniel* 3054-58 and *Rolandslied* 8531-33, 8537-39 (Artus knocked to his knees by sword-blow; Karl seems about to fall); 3. *Daniel* 3060-63, 3067-69 and *Rolandslied* 8555-70 (the deaths of Matur and Paligan). On closer inspection, there are discrepancies between *Daniel* and the *Rolandslied* in all but the first passage: Karl is never actually knocked from his feet, and Matur and Paligan succumb to different types of injury. One passage which Gürttler does not mention is *Daniel* 3036-37: 'die wîle die schilte werten, / dâmite kunden sie sich wol bewarn', which corresponds closely to *Rolandslied* 8453-54: 'dô kunde wol schirme / der wâre gotes kemphe.' There is no direct reference to Karl's shield in the *Rolandslied* passage, but it seems likely that he is using it to defend himself. This passage does not occur during the Karl/Paligan combat in *Karl*, although it resembles a motif from the Dietrich/Pinabel combat (*Karl* 12050-51: 'dane mohte anders niht geschehen, / wan daz si werten daz leben'). To my mind, none of these passages can be said to prove conclusively that Stricker was drawing either on *Karl* or on the *Rolandslied* at this point.

4.2.2.1 Artus v. Matur (2959-3081)

As with the combat between Karl and Paligan, the encounter between Artus and Matur appears to be an example of a battle of champions, a combat between two leaders in which each represents his cause and his army.[63] Certainly Artus intends to take on this role, and to answer Matur's challenge in person:

> 'nû wil ich versuochen dâ bî
> ob ich vollen sælic sî
> und in der êren dunke wert
> daz er geruoche sîn swert
> ûz ze ziehene gegen mir' (2977-81)

Artus asks his knights to approve his decision (2982-83), which they do without question, seemingly admiring Artus for his resolve ('daz dûhte si alle ritterlich / daz er sichs selbe hâte angenomen' (2990-91).[64] Although Matur does not speak to confirm his intentions, it is his custom to meet challengers in person rather than to confront them with his army (757-60). This is also clearly the intention of the Saracen leaders in *Karl*, when they approach Roland's army at the head of, or even in advance of, their *scharen* (see *Karl* single combats, motif B). Both Artus and Matur are hence clearly willing to engage in single combat to settle the issue raised by Matur's challenge.

The combat between Artus and Matur conforms in its basic structure to the combat scheme established from *Karl*, although the *Daniel* combat, like that between Karl and Paligan, shows small variations in some motifs. Of the two, the Karl/Paligan combat is by far the longer, 238 lines to the Artus/Matur combat's 121 lines. However, once we examine the motifs the ratio changes, the *Karl* combat comprising 66 motifs and the *Daniel* combat 41. The *Daniel* passage contains noticeably less repetition of motifs, particularly in the duel with swords (*Daniel* 3026-69, compare *Karl* 10136-66, 10238-66, 10289-95). There are no verbal exchanges in the *Daniel* combat.

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[63] Pingel sees the combat between Artus and Matur as a combat between *humilitas* and *superbia*. The result of the combat foreshadows the eventual result of the battles between Artus's knights and Matur's armies. Both results affirm the victory of *humilitas*, as personified by Artus and, by extension, his knights. See Pingel, 1994, 225.

[64] Pingel suggests that the knights' comments indicate that they, like the audience, are surprised that Artus is taking matters into his own hands, but that Artus is the only suitable opponent for Matur, since they are both monarchs (Pingel, 1994, 228).

The motifs common to the Artus/Matur combat and the Karl/Paligan combat conform to the skeleton of the combat scheme established in *Karl*, although there are some variations. I have noted motifs used in *Daniel* taken directly from the *Karl* combat scheme, as well as motifs in *Daniel* which appear in one or both of the two long combats in *Karl* but not in the overall scheme. Motifs which appear in *Daniel* but not in the *Karl* combat scheme have been marked with a bullet point.

List of motifs used in the combat between Artus and Matur (2959-3081)

• Artus's army prepares for battle	(2959-60)
• Artus's army expects arrival of Matur	(2961-64)
• Knights beg for honour of first joust	(2965-68)
• Artus declares intention to face Matur	(2969-89)
• Knights react	(2990-91)
E: Matur approaches	(2992-93)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(2994-3003)
H: Protagonist lowers lance	(3004)
I: Protagonist spurs/urges horse onward	(3005-06)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(3007)
• Sound of Artus's approach	(3008-11)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(3010-11)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(3012-17)
• Protagonists skilled	(3018-19)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(3020)
K: Protagonist strikes with lance	(3021)
• Both saddles break	(3022)
(see Karl v. Paligan, Karl *10113)*	
V: Both protagonists unseated	(3023-25)
(see Karl v. Paligan, Karl *10114-15, 10129-31, also Dietrich v. Pinabel,* Karl *11943)*	
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(3026-27)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(3028-32)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(3033-35)
• Combatants defend themselves with shields	(3036-37)
Z: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(3038-45)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(3046-49)
• Fortune smiles on Artus	(3050)
(see Karl v. Paligan, Karl *10267-84, also Dietrich v. Pinabel,* Karl *11998-12002)*	
AA: Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(3050-52)
AE: Protagonist wounded/bleeding	(3053)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(3054-56)
• Artus falls to his knees	(3057)
• Artus never before knocked from his feet	(3058)
• Artus believes himself to be dishonoured	(3059)
• Artus springs to his feet	(3060)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(3061-63a)
AF: Protagonist falls dead	(3063b)
• Misfortune occurs *(my reading)*	(3064-65)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword – *recapitulation*	(3066)
AD: Protagonist decapitates opponent	(3067-69)
AF: Protagonist falls dead – *recapitulation*	(3070-71)
AI: Onlookers react	(3072-81)

The differences between the *Daniel* combat and the *Karl* combat can be divided into various types. There is, as previously mentioned, an element of repetition in the *Karl* passage that does not occur in the combat between Artus and Matur. Aside from this, there are differences in the description of the protagonists and, most importantly, specific elements which are individual to each of the two combats.

The differences in description are most noticeable at the beginning of the combats. Whereas in the *Karl* passage Stricker comments on the strength of the protagonists's lances (*Karl* 10101-02, 10109-11), in the *Daniel* passage he picks out instead the devices on the protagonists' shields (*Daniel* 3000-03, 3010-11).[65] He also introduces the element of acoustic description in his portrayal of Artus's charge (3008-09). Later in the combat, Stricker adds a description of Artus and Matur actively defending themselves with their shields (3036-37), which has no parallel in *Karl*.

Perhaps more important for an understanding of the Artus/Matur combat, however, is not what is included but what, in comparison with the *Karl* passage, is omitted. The Karl v. Paligan combat, between the leaders of the Christian and Saracen armies, is representative of the whole conflict, both physical and spiritual, between the Christians and the Saracens (Hindley and Levy, 1983, 121). Karl and Paligan champion not only their armies but their faiths (as they express during their verbal exchanges), and their single combat is the climax of the narrative.

This sense of the protagonists as spiritual as well as physical champions is missing from the *Daniel* passage – there is no reference to religion and there are no exchanges of challenges or offers of mercy.[66] While this can be partly attributed to the fact that religion plays no major role in *Daniel*, as it does in *Karl* (Böhm, 1995, 206), there are other aspects of the Artus/Matur combat that are not as easily explained.

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[65] Pingel notes that Artus's device, the eagle, is closely connected with the devices used by Carolingian royalty, and that the eagle is also sometimes used as an allegory for Christ. The 'Babian' on Matur's shield, however, is Stricker's own invention, and has no such connections. She suggests that this legitimises Artus's kingship while simultaneously undermining Matur's (Pingel, 1994, 231-32; Müller-Ukena, 1986, 45).

[66] Although Matur has previously challenged Artus (*Daniel* 439-76), Artus is never granted the opportunity to answer the challenge verbally.

One of the most striking aspects is the attitude with which Artus approaches the combat (3012-17). Far from being apprehensive, as Karl is, Artus is overjoyed at the opportunity to test himself against Matur.[67] Artus clearly relishes the opportunity to face his challenger in combat. There is no mention of the possible consequences of the combat, and the onlookers are mentioned only at the beginning and the end of the passage. The Arthurian knights, rather than being anxious for their king, admire him for having chosen to confront Matur himself (2990-91). The overall mood of Artus and his men might be described, at this point, as light-hearted.

This changes abruptly when Artus is knocked to his knees by Matur's blow (3054-57). Artus's mood changes instantly; the stakes of the combat have been raised:

> daz geschach dem künige Artûs nie.
> von diu wânders iemer sîn geschant
> und spranc ûf al zehant. (3058-60)

Artus's earlier confidence vanishes, and he rises to his feet indignantly. He strikes Matur with such force that he decapitates him and the king of Cluse falls dead.

Killing in anger or indignation is not unusual in depictions of combat in the *chanson de geste* tradition (see for example Willehalm's killing of Arofel, *Willehalm* 78,26-79,7), and the protagonists in *Karl* are often portrayed as angry (see for example *Karl* 5147, 5253-55, 5525-28, 5532, 5905-06). What is unusual in this case is that Matur's death is not attributed to divine judgement (as is often the case in *Karl*), but to mischance. Although it is possible to interpret this 'ungelücke' (3064) as a veiled allusion to some form of preordination, I am inclined to read it instead as a reference to random accident, 'dâ sich nieman vor behüeten mac' (3065). The implication is that the blow that kills Matur was not intended to be fatal.

Chance and luck do not play much part, if any, in the depiction of single combats in *Karl*, although they are present in Wolfram's *Willehalm*, with which Stricker appears to have been familiar (see *Willehalm* 411,11-412,30). This is the only instance of luck – or ill luck – mentioned in the context of combat in *Daniel*. Given the fact that Matur's death leads inevitably

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[67] Pingel sees Artus's speech before the combat begins as 'vor allem Zeichen der ganz und gar ritterlichen Freude über die unmittelbar bevorstehende Auseinandersetzung mit Matur, dessen unrechtmäßige Forderung er auf diesem Wege angemessen beantworten kann.' (Pingel, 1994, 229).

to the opening of outright hostilities between Artus's army and the forces of Cluse (*Daniel* 3072-81), this single possible reference to bad luck appears significant.

The combat between Artus and Matur is clearly analogous to, if not modelled on, the combat between Karl and Paligan (see footnote 62), a combat in which one or other of the protagonists is clearly doomed to die. However, as I have shown, it is precisely the element of predestination that is missing from the *Daniel* combat. It is also significant that the Arthurian tradition tends to favour non-fatal outcomes for combats between protagonists of equal rank. Stricker's audience would probably have expected Artus to defeat Matur, to accept his surrender and to restore justice by accepting Matur as a vassal.[68] However, Stricker confounds their expectations, both by having Artus kill Matur and by plunging the usually passive Artus into full-scale battle as a result.

Given this, the outcome of the single combat between Artus and Matur appears highly ironic. On the level of the narrative, the action taken by Artus to resolve the conflict in fact escalates it beyond any immediate hope of reconciliation (see Pingel, 1994, 231). On a literary level, the combat of champions, more commonly used to bring battles to an end, or to forestall them (see *Eneasroman* 232,19-21), here serves completely the opposite purpose.

4.2.2.2 Daniel v. the anonymous knight (*Daniel* 4015-108)

Although this combat is not in any sense a battle of champions, it is the only single combat in *Daniel* to rival the combat between Artus and Matur in length, and to compare with it in following the same basic bipartite form as the two longer combats in *Karl* (joust with lances, duel with swords).[69]

Daniel's combat against the anonymous knight appears at first sight to belong entirely to the world of the Arthurian romance. The combat takes place in a *locus amoenus* reminiscent of Mabonagrin's garden in *Erec* or of Ascalon's wood in *Iwein*. A road leads up to the mountains

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[68] Pingel argues that, regardless of whether Artus intended to kill Matur or not, Matur's silence makes any other outcome to their combat impossible (Pingel, 1994, 229-30). She feels also that the representative combat fails to prevent the battles from taking place because Matur, the proponent of *superbia*, will not accept defeat. However, she does not comment on the possibility that Matur's death is accidental.
[69] The duel with swords between Daniel and the anonymous knight, however, begins on horseback rather than on foot (4025-29).

which encircle the realm of the Grüene Ouwe, into which Daniel's companion, the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen, previously vanished. Daniel's search for his companion was foiled by the realm's magical defences. After having defeated the first giant and helped Artus's army defeat Matur's first host, Daniel returns to the Grüene Ouwe, where he sees the knight 'der in von sînem gesellen schiet' (4017).

A combat ensues, during the course of which both horses are killed. Daniel has the magical sword he won from Juran but his opponent is protected by the skin of a *merwîp*, which he wears beneath his armour and which cannot be pierced even by Daniel's magical sword. Realising his danger, Daniel strikes the anonymous knight on the head, knocking him to the ground. His opponent fails to offer his surrender or to tell Daniel where the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen is, but Daniel refrains from killing him and sets off to find his companion. It is later revealed that Daniel's opponent was the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe himself, under the spell of the *sieche*.

Meyer (1994, 39) suggests that the entire Grüene Ouwe adventure is in fact a parallel of Artus's campaign in Cluse, and that Daniel's actions and circumstances are intended to mirror those of Artus. This thesis is borne out by several similarities between the two strands of the narrative: both Daniel and Artus are faced with an external threat and have to make their way into a foreign realm in order to respond. The Grüene Ouwe, surrounded by mountains, with the magical rock which blocks the entrance, is a miniature of the kingdom of Cluse itself, and so, when Daniel enters into combat against the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe, this combat is a parallel of the combat between Artus and Matur.[70] This thesis is supported by the similarities between the Artus v. Matur and Daniel v. anonymous knight combats, and by the resemblance of both of these encounters to the combat between Karl and Paligan.

Both the combat between Artus and Matur and the combat between Karl and Paligan in *Karl* are described in considerable detail and at length, as we have already seen. Artus's combat against Matur, like Karl's against Paligan, is also the one moment where the monarch is pitted

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[70] See also Brall, 1976, 238: 'Im Kampf der Könige Artus und Matur wird im übergeordneten Rahmen über das entschieden, was Daniel auf seinen *âventiuren* gleichsam nebenbei erkämpft, nämlich die Restitution des Rechtszustandes.'

against an opponent who is his equal in terms both of social rank and of prowess. In the same way, Daniel's opponent is his social equal – a knight – who also, like Daniel, has the advantage of a magical artefact which aids him in combat. None of Daniel's other single combats are fought against knights except for the friendly jousts against Keiî and the other knights of Artus's court at the beginning of the text. This is also the first combat since his victory over Juran in which Daniel cannot rely on the power of his magical sword, since the anonymous knight benefits from supernatural protection.[71] It is true that Daniel takes part in several other single combats during the course of the narrative, whilst Artus and Karl only face the one challenge each, but this can be attributed to the difference between the roles of the knight and the monarch in the two texts.

The structure of the two combats is broadly similar, as can be seen from the list of motifs below. As before, I have marked motifs that do not occur in the *Karl* combat scheme with a bullet point.

[71] Böhm suggests that the Artus/Matur combat is the only 'fair' combat in *Daniel* (Böhm, 1995, 201). She fails however to take into account the fact that in Daniel's combat against the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe, the magical sword and the *merwîp*'s skin cancel each other out, making this combat also equal.

List of motifs used in the combat between Daniel and the anonymous knight (4015-108)

E: Protagonist approaches alone (horseback)	(4015)
• Protagonist sees his opponent	(4016-17)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(4018)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(4019)
J: Protagonist charges (horseback)	(4020)
H: Protagonist lowers lance	(4021-22)
• Combatants aim for each other's chests	(4023)
K: Protagonist strikes with lance	(4024)
N: Lance breaks	(4025)
P: Protagonist draws sword	(4026)
Zi: Protagonist damages opponent's shield/armour with sword	(4027-28)
• Combat is in deadly earnest	(4029)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(4030-34)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(4035-36)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword *(variant)*	(4037)
• Anonymous knight wears *merwip*'s skin which protects him from harm	(4038-48)
• Daniel realises that he cannot defeat the anonymous knight	(4049-51)
W: Protagonist's morale affected	(4052-53)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword *(variant)*	(4054-56)
• Daniel's sword fails to cut the anonymous knight *(see Karl v. Paligan,* Karl *10251-55)*	(4057)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword *(variant)*	(4058-61)
• Combatants could not have fought harder if they had sworn to do so	(4062-65)
• Combatants put weight in their stirrups	(4066)
Y: Protagonist closes with opponent again	(4067)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(4068)
Q: Protagonist raises sword	(4069)
• Combatants bend with their swords	(4070-71)
C: Description of protagonist: physical	(4072)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(4073)
AA: *(variant)* Protagonist splits opponent's helm/head	(4074-76)
• Anonymous knight protected by *merwip* skin	(4077-78)
V: Protagonists unseated	(4079a)
• Both protagonists' horses die	(4079b-80)
D: Description of protagonist: mental	(4081)
R: Sword blows are exchanged	(4082-84)
• Daniel aware that he is in danger of death	(4085)
• Daniel defends himself	(4086-87)
S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword	(4088-89)
W: Protagonist's morale affected	(4090)
• Anonymous knight falls to the ground *(see* Daniel *3054-57, see also Karl v. Pinabel,* Karl *10293)*	(4091)
• Daniel takes the anonymous knight prisoner	(4092)
• Daniel demands to know the whereabouts of his companion	(4093-95)
• The anonymous knight is silent, although uninjured	(4096-97)
• Daniel is distressed by the anonymous knight's silence	(4098-101)
• Daniel leaves the anonymous knight	(4102)
• Daniel threatens the anonymous knight	(4103-08)

Most if not all of the motifs common to both long combats in *Daniel* are also present in *Karl*, either in the combat between Karl and Paligan or in the combat scheme. The new motifs that appear in Daniel's combat against the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe, as with the new motifs in the Artus/Matur combat, can be divided into two groups: those concerning relatively minor details of the depiction of the encounter, and those which introduce major innovations which have significance for the tone of the description as a whole.

In the first category are details such as *Daniel* 4066, where the protagonists either put weight in their stirrups or actually stand in their stirrups,[72] the careful aim taken by the protagonists with their lances (4023), which is not explicitly mentioned in the combat between Artus and Matur, and the description of the two protagonists 'bending' with their swords (4070-71) – implying perhaps the weight they are putting behind their sword-blows. Finally, the combat between Daniel and the anonymous knight includes a possible reference to parrying or actively defending oneself with the sword ('des werte er sich dester baz', 4086). Both shields have been destroyed by this point, which leaves two possibilities: either Daniel is simply avoiding the blows or he is actively defending himself with the only available means, his sword. The use of the verb *sich weren* suggests the latter.[73]

[72] The former is more likely. Putting weight in the stirrups by straightening the legs would give a rider a more secure seat, which would certainly be desirable in mounted combat.

[73] There has been considerable discussion on the topic of parrying among students of historical swordmanship. One issue under debate is the degree of damage that a sword-blade would suffer if it was used to parry sword-blows edge on edge. There are only two possible references to parrying in the single combat descriptions in *Daniel*, both involving Daniel and his magical sword which would clearly not be damaged by parrying (given that it can cut through rock). The other occurrence of this motif appears in Daniel's combat against the first giant, where the giant strikes downwards at Daniel with his fist (2781-82). This is, however, a more unusual case. Daniel is parrying a blow from a fist, not from a weapon, and he raises his sword not merely to stop the giant's fist but also to injure it. It is interesting that there is not more reference to parrying, given that parries are either explicitly taught or implied in European fencing manuals from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. However, there were many different schools of thought in European swordplay, and parrying was interpreted differently in different styles. German longsword masters such as Talhoffer, for example, placed little emphasis on purely defensive actions, and recommended instead the practice of counter-cutting, or cutting into blows. The English system, on the other hand, favoured strong defensive parrying and only riposting from a position of security. There is, however, a simpler explanation for the lack of parrying in accounts of combat, especially in battle. Sir William Hope, in the Advertisement to his *New, Short and Easy Method of Fencing*, notes: 'For in such a Juncture, I mean in a Crowd or Battel, a Man hath neither *Time* nor *Bounds*, nicely to Ward off his Adversary's Blows or Thrusts [...] as he would have, were he Engaged only in a Duel' (Hope, 1707, p.x).

In the other category are the innovations which set the combat between Daniel and the anonymous knight as a whole apart from the combat between Artus and Matur and also from the long combats in *Karl*. One such alteration occurs in the proportions of the combat structure. Although the basic structure remains the same, the joust with lances has been reduced to a skeleton description, and the duel with swords correspondingly extended, compared to the Artus v. Matur and Karl v. Paligan combats. The duel with swords also begins while both protagonists are still mounted, and unseating occurs only later, when the protagonists' horses die beneath them. In contrast, the duel with swords is described in great detail. (The duel with swords between Artus and Matur, although detailed, remains more similar in length to the joust with lances.) Stricker also includes three passages in which one of the combatants is shown striking his opponent repeatedly with his sword (4037, 4054-56, 4058-61), which I have included in the list above as examples of a variation of Motif S: Protagonist strikes opponent with sword.[74]

The reason for this favouring of the sword over the lance is almost certainly due to the circumstances: the drama of the encounter lies in the fact that Daniel finds himself unable as much as to scratch his opponent, in spite of the fact that he is wielding a hitherto invincible sword. In this combat, the joust with lances is merely a ritual preliminary to the real confrontation.

The combat between Daniel and the anonymous knight differs from the combat between Artus and Matur also in the mental state of Artus and Daniel. Artus approaches his combat in a mood of seemingly happy expectation. Daniel, on the other hand, is grimly determined to discover the whereabouts of his missing comrade. As the combat progresses and he finds himself unable to wound his opponent, he begins to fear for his life (4052-53). The combat as a whole is given an air of deadly seriousness by the repeated references to death or to the bare survival of the protagonists (4029; 4052-53; 4054-56; 4060-61; 4084-85) which are not present in the combat between Artus and Matur. One last element which contributes to the distinctive tone of the combat between Daniel and the anonymous knight is the reference to oaths:

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[74] Motif S usually refers to instances in which a single sword-blow is struck. There are no examples of this variant form in the combat between Artus and Matur.

haeten sie mit eide
die selben arbeit gelobet,
sie endörften hân getobet
herter denn sie tâten. (4062-65)

One possible reading of this sentence is that Daniel and his opponent could not have fought harder if they were actually engaged in judicial combat – and therefore defending themselves before God. Although he makes no further reference to the judicial combat, the comparison appears to have been in Stricker's mind.

This combat also resembles the combat between Artus and Matur in that the outcome is not what might be expected. As in Daniel's combat against Juran, the hero pauses once he has gained the upper hand and offers his opponent the chance to surrender. In the earlier Arthurian romances, the defeated opponent would typically accept the offer, and the two would reach a peaceable agreement (as do Erec and Guivreiz, see *Erec* 4439-77, see also Green, 1978, 21). However, in *Daniel* the defeated opponent, having been enchanted by the *sieche*, remains silent when asked to yield, leaving Daniel at a loss as to what he should do (4096-101) and the audience presumably unsure of what will happen next.

Stricker makes no comment on Matur's death, other than to record it laconically: 'der künec Artûs genas, / der künec Matûr was erslagen' (3070-71).[75] However, he does later comment on Daniel's actions in sparing the life of the (innocent) anonymous knight:

Er ist noch ein saelic man
der sînen muot gehaben kan,
daz er sîn niht enlât
sô in zorn ane gât.
haete er den man erslagen ê,
daz taete nû sînem herzen wê. (4887-92)

This warning against allowing anger to dictate one's deeds could be read as an implicit condemnation of Artus's behaviour in killing Matur in revenge for having been 'geschant' (3059). However, this is too simplistic a conclusion to draw. Artus's reaction to being knocked to his knees is not made clear, but seems to be one of indignation rather than of outright anger, especially compared to Daniel's much stronger reaction to being knocked from his horse by the

[75] 'Für eine abschließende Beurteilung des Zweikampfes läßt der Stricker keinen Raum.' (Reisel, 1981, 148).

first giant (2834-39). The term 'zorn' is not used in connection with Artus during his combat against Matur, and it seems more likely that no condemnation of Artus is implied.[76]

In both of these longer combats, then, Stricker plays with his audience's expectations. The battle of champions sparks off a series of battles instead of ending it, and the combat between the two knights ends not with a reconciliation, but with an embarrassing silence. In the other single combats in *Daniel*, Stricker introduces more alterations to the patterns which his audience might expect.

[76] If Stricker had intended his audience to condemn Artus's actions, I would have expected to see an explicit narratorial comment at this point, similar to the one quoted above in 4887-92. If we add to this the fact that Stricker likewise fails to condemn Daniel's anger during his combat with the first giant, it seems obvious that this is not a blanket condemnation of anger (*zorn*), but a warning to control it.

4.3 Combats against giants

4.3.1 The source for Stricker's giants

Daniel's combats against the two invulnerable giant brothers who serve Matur as warden and messenger respectively are the first of the single combats fought against non-knightly or non-human opponents. The preponderance of 'supernatural' figures as adversaries of the hero is a well-known feature of *Daniel*, and the more outlandish figures (the father of the giants, the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*) appear to have no clear literary source. This is not the case, however, with the two giants, or with the dwarf Juran; giants and dwarfs feature both in the epic and in the romance traditions. At first glance, the origin of the giants in *Daniel* appears obvious: giants are found both in *Erec* and in *Iwein*, and in both cases are depicted in combat against the hero. Nevertheless, Daniel's combats against the giants differ in various ways from those depicted by Hartmann, and other possible sources may be found for Stricker's depiction of the giants, and particularly for their behaviour in combat.

4.3.2 Giants in medieval literature

Although single combats against giants appear in both the romance and the epic traditions, to date no study focuses specifically on the giant in combat. Different types of giant are noted by Wohlgemuth (1906), who examines the giants and dwarfs of Old French literature, with particular reference to their influence on German sagas and mythology. Wohlgemuth gives a detailed description of the typical appearance of the French giants, noting among other points their size, the size and weight of their weapons, and the variety of non-human traits they display. He then devotes a chapter each to 'Vergrößerte menschen', 'Menschen mit spuren riesischer natur' and 'Wirkliche jaiants' (author's capitalisations reproduced) in the French epic and romance traditions. Wohlgemuth's classifications are summarised and amplified by Lecouteux:

> 1: les vrais géants: solitaires, velus, cruels, bestiaux,
> 2: les faux géants: chevaliers grandis par exagération épique ou goût du merveilleux, géants rationalisés,
> 3: les géants exotiques, venant de Malprose, de Canaan ou de Babylone
> 4: les géants hérités de l'Antiquité ou de la Bible (Lecouteux, 1987, 221).

The classifications established by Wohlgemuth and Lecouteux are by no means exclusive. There are 'exotic' giants who are also plainly knights, and solitary giants who are clearly 'rationalised'. The giant's appearance and manner depend to a great extent on his role in the text, rather than on his similarity to an abstract type.

In his earlier study, Lecouteux, 1982, I, esp. 25-55, discusses the German giant, in particular as presented in the epic tradition. He notes a distinction in the German romance tradition between those giants whose only unusual feature is great height and those giants who may display additional giantish traits, for example, great weight or an abnormally strong voice (Lecouteux, 1982, I, 32-34). Lecouteux also deals with the nature of the various giants in German medieval literature, most of whom are hostile (characters such as Asprian in *König Rother* are an exception). The trait which all giants have in common is their susceptibility to anger, *zorn*.

Lecouteux also provides a brief summary of the single combat between the hero and the giant, followed by some of the most common variants (Lecouteux, 1982, I, 50-53). If the giant is mounted, the combat begins with the first phase, the joust with the lance, then both protagonists dismount and continue with the duel with swords. Most of the time, however, the giant is on foot and the entire combat takes place on foot, unless there is more than one giant, in which case the hero dispatches the first with his lance and then faces the second giant on foot. After the first phase, there is usually a verbal exchange. The hero then wounds the giant, who furiously aims a blow at the hero with his club, which misses. The giant is again wounded in the hand or arm, and his anger redoubles, at which point the hero retreats into the forest or into a ditch and continues to defend himself. The giant receives one or more wounds to the legs, stumbles, falls to the ground and is finally decapitated.

The most detailed examination of the giant in medieval German literature, however, is that by Ahrendt (1923). Ahrendt sees the German medieval giants as direct descendants of the many giants from Germanic saga and mythology, which are studied in detail by Weinhold (1858). He devotes one chapter to the giants of Old French literature, which draws heavily on Wohlgemuth. His study concentrates in particular on the relationships between different texts and traditions as revealed through the depiction of giants.

Unlike Wohlgemuth or Lecouteux, Ahrendt makes particular note of the giants in the Old Testament tradition and in classical Antiquity, as well as in medieval versions of these texts. He pays particular attention to the Canaanite giants who appear in the *Alexanderlied* and in *Herzog Ernst*. Like Wohlgemuth, he distinguishes between Christian and Saracen giants in his chapter on the French tradition, and also notes the giant-like qualities displayed by heroes such as Roland, Charlemagne and Rainoart, qualities also apparent in heroes in the German epic tradition (Ahrendt, 1923, 82). Ahrendt also lists the characteristics of the German giants: strength, speed, mental traits (*zorn* in particular), and weapons, which include staffs, clubs, uprooted trees but also swords and a range of armour. He notes in particular that, although the giant is typically portrayed as clumsy and slow-moving, some giants can be superhumanly agile.[77]

Ahrendt also devotes a short section to the combat between the hero and the giant (Ahrendt, 1923, 112-14) in which he draws on a large number of German texts, including *Virginal*, *Ortnit*, *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*, *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*, *Gauriel von Muntabel*, the *Thidrekssaga*, Wittenweiler's *Ring*, *Biterolf*, *König Rother*, the *Eckenlied*, *Wolfdietrich* B and D, *Tandareis und Flordibel*, *Herzog Ernst*, *Sigenot*, *Wigalois*, *Erec*, *Willehalm*, the *Alexanderlied*, *Lanzelet*, *Diu Krone*, *Laurin* and *Der Rosengarten zu Worms*. The combat usually begins with an exchange of taunts. In the epic tradition, the hero fights on foot, in the romances he also fights on horseback. The outcome of the combat is decided by the hero's ability to dodge the heavy downward blows of the giant's staff. The momentum of the giant's blow buries the staff deeply in the earth and the giant often loses his balance. The hero dodges in and inflicts numerous wounds on the giant, striking in the same place in order to deepen the wound. Typically, the giant's leg, hand or arm is severed. The hero finds himself in considerable difficulty because of the sheer weight of the blows from the staff and either falls to his knees or is forced to retreat into the forest where the giant is hampered by the trees. The combat is often interrupted either by the fatigue or injuries of the protagonists, or by nightfall.

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[77] This immediately brings to mind the supernaturally agile father of the giants in *Daniel*, even though he is clearly not a giant himself.

If the giant's staff breaks, he fights either with a sword or with his bare hands. Finally, however, he collapses from blood-loss, trying to crush the hero under his weight as he falls. The giant continues to fight from a seated or prone position, or to wrestle with the hero, but is eventually decapitated.

None of the studies mentioned above, however, focus specifically on the giants in *Daniel*, or attempt to classify them in any detail. In addition, although Ahrendt at least clearly notes the existence of several motifs frequently used during the depiction of the giant in combat, he does not provide anything resembling a combat scheme. It is necessary, then, to examine the depiction of combats against giants in the epic and the romance traditions more closely, in order to establish to what extent Stricker draws on each.

4.3.2.1 Giants in the epics

The single combats against giants in the heroic epics and the *Spielmannsepen* to which I refer below are the following:

***Wolfdietrich* D:**	IV: 17,1-20,4	Wolfdietrich v. Wilher
	IV: 21,1-29,4	Wolfdietrich v. anonymous giant 1
	IV: 30,1-31,4	Wolfdietrich v. anonymous giant 2
	[IV: 32,1-4	Wolfdietrich v. 12 further giants]
	IV: 67,1-80,4	Wolfdietrich v. Olfan
Virginal:	322,7-327,2	Dietrich v. Wicram
	382,9-383,13	Dietrich v. Grandengrus
	522,1-528,13	Dietrich v. Hülle
	820,1-823,13	Nitger v. anonymous giant
Älterer Sigenot:	12,1-25,13	Hiltebrand v. Sigenot
Nibelungenlied:	486,1-492,4	Sifrit v. giant doorwarden
Eckenlied:	102,10-150,13	Dietrich v. Ecke
	183,6-187,13	Dietrich v. Vasolt
Orendel:	804-26	Orendel v. anonymous giant
	1205-360	Orendel v. Mentwin
	1716-27	Orendel v. Liberian
	1871-2071	Orendel v. Pelian
***Rosengarten zu Worms* A:**	197.1-204,4	Wolfhart v. Pusolt
	205,1-12,4	Sigestap v. Ortwin
	213,1-23,4	Heime v. Schrutan
	224,1-44,4	Witege v. Asprian

In addition, I examine briefly three instances of melée combats in which one or more giants take part. This is necessary in order to demonstrate the range of roles played by giants in the epics. The specific passages to which I refer are *Herzog Ernst* D, 4099-280 and 4665-896, in which the hero and his men fight against an army of five hundred giants, capturing one who then joins them in their later combat against the heathen. I also note *König Rother* 652-4270, in which the hero is aided from the outset of his bridal quest by the noble giant Asprian and his followers, one of whom, Witold, is kept in chains like a lion because of his explosive temper.[78]

In the epics, giants are frequently portrayed as knightly figures, rather than as irrationally violent monsters.[79] The distinction between the two types of giant is made in several ways, some of which have previously been mentioned. One of the most obvious ways of distinguishing the 'knightly' giant from the 'non-knightly' or 'monstrous' giant is by their appearance and equipment.

4.3.2.1.1 Knightly giants

The combats between the hero and the 'knightly' giant are difficult to classify, and the knightly giants themselves do not resemble the giants who appear in *Daniel* to any great degree. For this reason, I will examine them only briefly. Wohlgemuth and Lecouteux both refer to two basic types of 'knightly' giant: the exotic giant who fights in knightly style and the knight of gigantic stature, in Wohlgemuth's terminology 'ein mensch mit spuren riesischer natur' (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 42).[80] However, this fails to take into account that several characters who appear in armour, bearing lance, sword and shield, are consistently referred to as *risen*, whilst others, of similar appearance and stature, are referred to as *riter* or *degen*. For the sake of simplicity, only

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[78] The giant (or gigantic character) who aids the hero loyally in battle but whose ferocity occasionally gets the better of him also appears in the Old French epic tradition. The most famous example is Rainoart, the gigantic kitchen-boy of *Aliscans*, who resembles Witold in some respects (compare *König Rother*, 4251-62 and *Aliscans*, 6964-82). Rainoart also resembles Witold in his ferocity when angered. A short temper and a tendency to excessive violence are not solely the preserve of giants in the *chansons de geste* but they do establish the link between giants and anger which is to be found in medieval German literature. This anger (*zorn*) is sometimes caused by the hero's actions or words, but often it appears to be the manner in which the giant typically reacts to his surroundings. The giant is portrayed as irrational or unthinking, particularly in the romances.

[79] Or, as Lecouteux would have it, as 'géants rationalisés' (see Lecouteux, 1987, 221).

[80] Wohlgemuth's classification is based on the French tradition. He is of the opinion that none of the gigantic characters in the Old French *chansons de geste* can really be said to be giants, and that the first real giants appear with the romance tradition (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 79).

those knightly characters who are actually described as *risen* will be counted as giants, and these will be divided into two sub-categories: knightly giants and heathen/exotic giants.

Confusingly, some of the 'knightly' giants do not appear to be greatly larger than their opponents; there is no reference in the *Eckenlied* to Ecke's great size during his combat against Dietrich for example, or to the advantages it gives him.[81] This is clearly also the case in the combats against giants from the *Rosengarten zu Worms*.[82]

The knightly giants are armed generally with the archetypal knightly weapons, sword and/or lance (*Orendel* 1262), and are armoured (*Eckenlied* 104,11; 185,6; *Orendel* 1209-75, 2025-34). Mentwin is the only knightly giant whose size is emphasised by his choice of mount (he rides an elephant, although the narrator later forgets this detail, *Orendel* 1319).

The knightly giants' style of combat does not differ greatly from that of the heroes they face. The lance is used in the couched position to thrust (Motif K) and the sword is used primarily as a slashing weapon. The giant strikes several blows in each combat and there are frequent instances of blows being exchanged to no great effect (*Eckenlied* 102,11-103,3; 185,1-6; *Orendel* 2039-41) other than the damaging of the armour (Motifs R and Z). The blows of the knightly giant and the hero have similar effects: Pelian strikes Orendel hard enough to knock him to the ground (*Orendel* 2049-50), but Dietrich does the same to Ecke (*Eckenlied* 113,12-13). The general impression is of a combat between equals, which is most obvious in the combat between Dietrich and Ecke (*Eckenlied* 102,10-150,13).

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[81] Both Wohlgemuth and Ahrendt suggest that there are basically two groups of giants, differentiated by size. The most common height for a giant in the Old French tradition is 15 feet (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 12), whereas the giants in *Daniel* are clearly much larger (I estimate fifty to sixty feet tall, given that on horseback Daniel reaches the first giant's knee). Ahrendt suggests, following Wohlgemuth, that the smaller giants come from the Germanic tradition, in which there are also many examples of heroes with giant-like characteristics, and that the truly enormous giants come from the Celtic tradition (Ahrendt, 1923, 21).

[82] The *Rosengarten* is not the only text in which there is a series of briefly described combats between knights and giants. *Virginal* features a similar episode, as does *Laurin*. Ahrendt suggests that the *Rosengarten* episode may have been inspired directly by *Laurin* (Ahrendt, 1923, 62).

The giants who face Orendel have a quality that the other knightly giants lack: they are leaders or banner-bearers of a Saracen army.[83] Mentwin displays not only *zorn* (*Orendel* 1299) but also contempt for Orendel as being too small to fight (*Orendel* 1300-07), a sentiment shared by Pelian (*Orendel* 1915-20). This, together with the giants' sumptuous armour and equipment, suggests the same kind of hubris as that displayed by the Saracens in *Karl* or in the *Rolandslied*. By contrast, Orendel and his wife Bride rely on the power of prayer, and the combats are liberally embellished with angelic and divine intervention. The combats against giants in *Orendel* have much more in common with the single combats of the *chanson de geste* tradition than they do with the other combats against giants in the German epic.

The attitude of the hero towards the knightly giant depends largely on the attitude or aims of the giant in each case, rather than on his *identity* as a giant. Dietrich is reluctant to kill Ecke and treats Vasolt with restraint, whilst Orendel clearly has no compunction at all in killing Mentwin, Liberian and Pelian – again, mirroring the attitudes of the *chansons de geste*. Orendel dispatches his opponents because they are Saracens, and Dietrich is inclined to spare his because they are fellow-warriors. The hero views the knightly giants primarily as knights.

The combats against the knightly giants are so disparate that it is difficult to classify the blows dealt by the hero. There is a basic distinction between blows from the lance and blows from the sword and there is frequent reference to exchanges of blows, during which the giant often appears, momentarily, to have the upper hand. Dietrich actually considers running away from the combat against Ecke (*Eckenlied* 116,10-13), whilst Orendel is almost unseated by Mentwin (*Orendel* 1326-27) and knocked off his feet by Pelian (*Orendel* 2049-50).

At the close of the combat, the hero either kills the giant outright or delivers a *coup de grace*. Once again, this frequently takes the form of decapitation (*Eckenlied* 150,1; *Orendel*

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[83] Ahrendt points out that all three combats between Orendel and the giant champions have almost the same outline (Ahrendt, 1923, 43-45). Orendel's combat against Durian also fits this outline, although Durian is not described as a giant. However, Ahrendt fails to take account of the fact that Mentwin, Pelian and Durian are engaged in relatively lengthy combats, involving both sword and lance, whereas Liberian is killed by a single blow. Liberian is also the only opponent portrayed as fighting at the head of a *schar*; all the other three combats take place in an open space between the two armies.

1727, 2070). Vasolt is spared, but one might read a parallel to the ritual of beheading into the cutting off of his plaits.[84]

4.3.2.1.2 Non-knightly or monstrous giants

The classic weapon of the non-knightly or monstrous giant in the epics is the staff, usually made to the stature of its wielder (Asprian's staff is measured at 24 ells in length, Sigenot's at three *klâfter*) and made of iron or steel. Giants use staffs in almost all of the single combats listed above except the encounters against Ecke, Vasolt, Mentwin, and Pelian. (In the encounter between Wolfdietrich and Wilher there is no mention of the giant's weapon at all.) Generally, few details of the staff are given, however, in the combat between Sigenot and Hiltebrand, the giant's weapon is described more fully:

> [...]
> mit einer stahelstange.
> diu was sich harte wol geworht:
> si truoc der rise unervorht
> wol drîer klâfter lange.
> si was von vieren eggen grôz
> und sinwel dâ zer hende. (*Sigenot*, 14,3-8)[85]

It is worth noting that staffs made from iron or steel would be both expensive and difficult to make.[86] These are not knightly weapons, but neither are they as unsophisticated as has often been assumed (see *Sigenot* 14, 4).

The manner of wielding the staff is not clearly described. Two terms are used to describe the blows being dealt: *slac* (*Wolfdietrich* IV 22,3) and *swanc* (*Virginal* 523,11). Both of these terms are also generally used to describe sword-blows, which suggests that a round blow rather

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[84] Vasolt is not actually injured during the combat, but he surrenders immediately when Dietrich cuts off his plaits. This is reminiscent of the Biblical story of Samson, whose strength resided in his hair and who was rendered helpless as soon as it was cut off. Vasolt goes to great lengths to protect his plaits (*Eckenlied* 166,1-13), which suggests that they are of great significance to him, but whether they have an actual effect on his physical strength or not is not made clear.

[85] Sigenot's staff is described in unusual detail. The staff is square in cross-section at the ends which will be used for striking (*Sigenot* 14,7), and rounded in the centre to allow a more comfortable grip (*Sigenot* 14, 8).

[86] The staff is not necessarily always made of solid iron or steel, although the wording in *Sigenot* suggests that it is in this case. Rainoart's second *tinel* is made from a huge pine trunk which he uproots and then has strengthened with iron rings (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 21). The making and fitting of iron rings still requires skilled labour; Rainoart pays a blacksmith to complete his weapon. The Germanic giant frequently owns a valuable weapon, sometimes made by giants, at other times made by dwarfs (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 45).

than an in-line thrust (*stich*) is intended. Both thrust and blow were known in European staff fighting.[87]

It is generally non-knightly giants who wield the staff, although Asprian and his followers are something of an exception. In the *single* combats, however, the staff is wielded exclusively by non-knightly giants. These figures are usually not armed in any other way, and there is no mention of armour except in the case of the giant doorwarden from the *Nibelungenlied*, who wears a helm (*Nibelungenlied* 489,1-2a), and Sigenot, who wears a hat or helm made of leather (*Sigenot* 14,11-15,1).

The non-knightly giants generally have the role of guardian of a realm or of a monarch (a role that is shared by Ecke). In two cases, the giant is the guardian not only of the realm but of the lord's castle (see Wolfdietrich v. Olfan and Sifrit v. the anonymous doorwarden). As guardians, they have the duty to kill or capture the hero, who has either entered the realm or approached its border without consent. Sigenot is again the exception: he is acting on his own behalf and out of personal revenge. Revenge also plays a part in the motivation of the anonymous giants faced by Wolfdietrich (*Wolfdietrich* 21,1-4).

As in the single combats in *Karl*, the encounters with giants in the epics usually include a verbal exchange of some kind, either at the beginning of the combat or partway through, or, in the longest combats, both (see Motifs F, G and U from the single combat scheme for *Karl*). These verbal exchanges are generally similar to those between the knightly opponents in *Karl*: an exchange of challenges or threats, occasionally including a demand for surrender from the giant. Demands for surrender in *Karl* are only made by Saracens and are generally only intended as mockery, as previously noted (see footnote 34). In the epics, however, the giants frequently intend to capture the hero rather than to kill him immediately. Sigenot for example imprisons Dietrich, planning to starve him to death. After he has disarmed Hiltebrand, he intends to treat him in the same way (*Sigenot* 19,4-20,4). The giants' demands that the hero

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[87] I am assuming that the giant holds his staff in the quarterstaff grip, i.e., at an angle with one hand at the end of the staff and one roughly a quarter of the way along, and with one end directed towards the opponent (pointed either upwards or downwards). This grip is the one most commonly referred to in European staff fighting manuals rather than the half-staff grip, where the staff is held horizontally, with an equal length of staff on each side (Silver, 1599, 29; Swetnam, 1617, 141; Wylde, 1711, 31-32).

surrender can therefore be assumed to be more genuine than those made by the Saracens. It is also not unheard of for the hero of the epics to submit to his opponent: Dietrich does not hesitate to surrender to Wicram (*Virginal* 324,1-325,13).

The giants' speech and manner of speaking are as revealing as the way in which they fight. Their most prominent characteristic, *zorn*, is most frequently mentioned in connection with the verbal exchanges (for example Wolfdietrich v. Olfan, *Wolfdietrich* 68,1; 74,1-74,3a).[88] In *Sigenot*, the reference appears in Hiltebrand's speech:

> 'sît du die stange hâst verlorn,
> des vürhte ich kleine dînen zorn' (*Sigenot* 23,4-5)

The non-knightly giants express their anger in a non-knightly manner; both Wolfdietrich's first anonymous opponent and the *portenære* Olfan threaten to hang him. Olfan's actions are just as unknightly: at the close of his verbal exchange with Wolfdietrich he aims a kick at the hero (*Wolfdietrich* 70,1). Sigenot also kicks at Hiltebrand (*Sigenot* 24,5). Olfan is without doubt the most savage of the non-knightly giants who face the hero in single combat. The description of smoke and mist arising from him during his verbal exchange with Wolfdietrich implies that he is literally boiling with rage (*Wolfdietrich* 69,2b-69,3a). Sigenot is another of the more savage non-knightly giants, being described as *des vâlandes gnôz* (*Sigenot* 14,9). At the other end of the scale comes Wilher, who demands Wolfdietrich's surrender in neutral terms (*Wolfdietrich* 17,3-17,4). It is to be noted that it is Wolfdietrich who strikes the first – and only – blow in this encounter.

The non-knightly giants, although not chivalrous, rely on their bravery and prowess as much as their adversaries do, with one exception: Wicram is the only giant who achieves his aims by stealth as well as by brute force, and is described as *ungetriuwe* (*Virginal* 323,2), and as having *valschen muot* (*Virginal* 322,9).

The other term which is used frequently of the giants is *ungefüege*. This term is used primarily to describe the size of the giants (*Wolfdietrich* 18,4) but also has negative connotations, meaning unchivalrous, uncouth or ungainly (compare *Karl* 6115). The implication

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[88] Both Wohlgemuth and Lecouteux refer to the giants' notorious anger: 'La violence du géant s'exprime dans sa colère' (Lecouteux, 1982, 49); 'So gutmütig der riese für gewöhnlich ist, wenn man ihn reizt, versteht er keinen spaß, sondern macht sein zorn luft in grimmem jötunmodr' (Wohlgemuth, 1906, 53).

is that the excessive size of the giant renders him and all of his actions ungainly and unattractive. In the case of Olfan this is emphasised by the contrast with *gehiure* (pleasant, amiable, chivalrous) which is used with *klâre* to describe Wolfdietrich (*Wolfdietrich* 72,4). *Ungefüege* is also used of the blows struck by the giants (*Virginal* 523,11; 525,4), where it seems once more to relate to the weight of the blows, and in *Herzog Ernst* (*Herzog Ernst* 4212). When Dietrich kills Grandengrus, the giant's fall is also described as an *ungevüegen val* (*Virginal* 384,1). Lastly, Sigenot also makes an *ungevüeger schal* when mortally wounded by Hiltebrand (*Sigenot* 25,5). Giants are frequently credited with having exceptionally loud voices.[89]

The non-knightly giant typically delivers only one or at most two extremely powerful blows with his staff during the course of the combat, compared to the smaller, quicker hero who typically strikes at least twice. The anonymous doorwarden of the *Nibelungenlied* is the only giant who strikes the hero repeatedly and whose blows are described as *swinde* (*Nibelungenlied* 490,2), and Olfan is the only non-knightly giant depicted implicitly exchanging a series of blows with the hero:

> Sie liefen an einander und vâhten degenlîch. (*Wolfdietrich* 72,1)

The giants' blows always land and have a variety of effects. The hero is frequently forced to his knees by the weight of the blow (*Virginal* 525,4-6; 820,4-5; *Älterer Sigenot* 18,6-18,13) or actually knocked off his feet (*Wolfdietrich* 22,3-22,4). The force of the blow sometimes stuns the hero (*Virginal* 526,1; 821,1; *Älterer Sigenot* 18,6-18,7a). If the hero has a shield, the giant's blow is sufficient to splinter the wood (*Virginal* 523,10-13). The non-knightly giants are generally depicted therefore as large, tremendously strong but not particularly agile, relying on the power of one or two massive blows to subdue their smaller and usually weaker opponents.

In contrast, the heroes who fight the non-knightly giants are depicted as comparatively small, light and quick-moving. The description of Wolfdietrich as 'dem wilden salamander [...] gelîch' (*Wolfdietrich* 72,2) clearly suggests agility and speed. This agility enables the hero in some instances to strike many blows where the giant strikes only one (*Virginal* 524,8-9),

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[89] See Wohlgemuth, 1906, 34-35: 'Die riesen haben natürlich eine viel stärkere stimme als der mensch. Charakteristisch für sie ist das *braire*, besonders wenn sie verwundet sind'.

although these blows are not immediately fatal or disabling. Wolfdietrich on the other hand uses his speed in order to dispatch his opponents more quickly; only the first anonymous giant and Olfan actually manage to strike him at all.

The motivation of the hero in these combats is generally dependent on the motivation of the giant, as it is usually the giant who provokes the combat. Wolfdietrich and Hiltebrand intend to rescue a companion or companions previously captured by the giant, but simple self-preservation is an important factor in each of the combats. The hero is occasionally angered by the giant's unchivalrous actions (*Wolfdietrich* 70,1-2; *Sigenot* 20,11-21,6). However, the hero does not allow his anger to dominate his intelligence: Hiltebrand seizes Dietrich's sword 'mit listeclîchen sinnen' (*Sigenot* 22,6) after Sigenot has disarmed and captured him, whilst Nitger carefully weighs up the best way to attack his opponent (*Virginal* 821,7-8).

The hero's weapon against the non-knightly giant is almost exclusively the sword. The lance is not used since the hero fights on foot, sometimes even dismounting specifically in order to do so (*Sigenot* 15,4-9). This is seemingly due to the fact that none of the non-knightly giants are mounted either and that the epic tradition, in contrast to the romance, appears to favour combats in which the hero is placed on an equal footing with his opponent as far as fighting style is concerned.[90]

The blows the hero strikes against the giant fall into four categories. First of all are blows aimed against the giant's staff, with the intention of disarming him (*Virginal* 527,2-4; 821,9-10). Second are repeated blows against the giant, as mentioned above, either to no real effect as in Wolfdietrich's combat against Olfan (Motif R), or inflicting wounds which are described as *tief* or *grôz* but not directly fatal, as in *Virginal* 524,9; 527,5. Third are the blows which cause serious injury to the giant (Motif AE: *Wolfdietrich* 27,3; 76,3-77,4; *Virginal* 527,10; 821,11-12; *Sigenot* 24,1-3; 24,8-10). These include severing a limb or hand and stabbing or slashing the abdomen, the most graphic description being in Wolfdietrich's combat against Olfan:

Welnt ir gerne hoeren	wie der slac geriet?
eine grôze wunde	erm undr der gürteln schriet.

[90] The hero's actions during the combat are often described using motifs also used in *Karl* to describe the duel with swords. However, it is not possible to apply the combat scheme from *Karl* in its entirety to most of the single combats against giants, since the giants fight in a manner and using weapons which are not found in *Karl.*

diu was tief und wîte (mit kreften daz geschach),
daz man im an der stunde lunge und leber sach. (*Wolfdietrich* 77,1-4)

These wounds are disabling, and are almost always immediately followed by the *coup de grâce*, which is the final type of blow delivered by the hero. In most cases, this takes the form of decapitation (Motif AD).[91] Beheading a giant might seem an unrealistic feat, but in most cases the narrator is careful to mention that the giant has previously fallen either to the ground or at least to his knees, bringing his head within reach. Interestingly, Sigenot is so large that Hiltebrand is unable to reach high enough to decapitate him even once the giant has fallen to his knees. 'Doch was sîn nôt zergangen', comments the narrator (*Sigenot* 25,10), because Sigenot expires from the blow which Hiltebrand has previously dealt him.

All but two of the non-knightly giants are killed outright by their opponents. Wolfdietrich does not finish off the giant whose leg he has severed (*Wolfdietrich* 28,1-28,2), because he is instantly attacked by the second anonymous giant. Sifrit also stops short of killing his opponent (*Nibelungenlied* 493,3b-4; 502,1) – his own doorwarden. In all but one of the other combats, however, the giant is summarily killed. The exception is Wolfdietrich's combat against Olfan, in which Wolfdietrich offers Olfan a chance to surrender after wounding him. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that Olfan is known throughout the land as a great hero (*Wolfdietrich* 73,1-73,4).

The giants in the epics who fight single combats against the hero can then be divided into three types – or two types, the first of which falls into two sub-types. First are the giants who are in fact knights in all but name, using knightly weapons and scarcely distinguished from their opponents. Second are the Saracen giants, who are treated first and foremost as Saracens. Last are the non-knightly giants: large, lumbering creatures relying on brute strength. Both the non-knightly and the knightly giants appear in the romance tradition as well, the knightly giant now

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[91] The decapitation of a defeated enemy, especially after death, occurs in almost all Western European myth, literature and pictorial art, as well as in the traditions of other countries. The victim of the decapitation is frequently although not always a monster (in the cases under study, a giant). The severed head is usually used as a trophy either to raise the morale of the hero's allies or to intimidate his enemies (Ahrendt, 1923, 113). Possibly the most significant example for medieval literature is that of David and Goliath (1 *Samuel*, 17:51). Decapitation has judicial overtones and is a stock motif of German epic (Flood, 1994, 183-4; Lecouteux, 1982, I, 53). Decapitation is also the most unmistakable proof of both the hero's success and the victim's demise: it is possible for a person to survive the loss of one or more limbs but not the loss of their head. A severed head also inspires repulsion and, strangely, fascination (see Cohen, 1999, 64-67).

bound by the code of the romance rather than by that of the epic. However, in the romances that precede *Daniel*, as in *Daniel* itself, the non-knightly giant is most prominent.

4.3.2.2 Giants in the Arthurian romance

The typical giant of the romance tradition retains some of the characteristics of the non-knightly giant of the epic, but both his nature and his role in the narrative are subtly altered to fit into the world of the Arthurian romance. At times, the giant acts as a guardian or doorwarden as in the epics, but the giant guardians of Cluse in *Daniel* are markedly different from the figures seen for example in *Wolfdietrich*. At other times, the romance giant takes on the role of abductor, but the victim is not the hero himself. The encounters between the hero and the giant in the romance also take on a different slant from those portrayed in the epic.

The giants depicted by Chrétien and Hartmann are mostly 'abductor' giants. The two encountered by Erec have carried off a knight, whilst Harpin has abducted the sons of Gawein's brother-in-law. The two giants of the Burg zum Schlimmen Abenteuer episode, although they have not directly abducted anyone, demand a yearly tribute of thirty maidens (*Iwein* 6349-68).[92] In all three cases, the hero intervenes and kills the giant or giants. Nevertheless, there is a large difference between this situation and that found in the *Älterer Sigenot*. The knight Erec rescues is a complete stranger, whilst Iwein has no actual links to Gawein's relatives except for his friendship with Gawein himself, and has no links with the prisoners of the Burg zum Schlimmen Abenteuer at all. In the same way, whilst in *Sigenot* the giant already bears a grudge against Hiltebrand, the romance giants have no previous links with Erec or Iwein. In other words, whilst in *Sigenot* all three characters, abductor, rescuer and victim, are linked by present or past circumstances, in *Erec* and *Iwein* the hero is an outsider, having no past acquaintance with either the abductor or the victim(s).

The giants in Chrétien are armed similarly to the non-knightly giants of the epics, but not identically. Harpin de la Montaigne (whom Lecouteux, 1987, does not consider to be a real

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[92] The giant as abductor of an uninvolved third party first appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The giant of Mont St Michel (given the name Dinabuc in Wace's version of the tale) is finally killed by Arthur (Cohen, 1999, 66-70).

giant) is so certain of his great strength that he does not even carry a weapon (*Yvain* 4209-10), and he wears a bearskin as armour. The two anonymous giants ('fils de netun') carry clubs (*Yvain* 5514-17) and are armed to the knees, with bare arms and legs (*Yvain* 5518-22). The giants in *Erec et Enide* carry clubs or staffs which are described as large and *quarrees* (*Erec et Enide* 4413-14). There is no mention of any armour. Likewise, in *Iwein*, Harpin carries only a staff, whilst the two giants in *Erec* have wooden *kolben* (*Erec* 5385-90), which are reinforced with iron. Only the two giants at the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer wear armour (*Iwein* 6679-82); they also carry clubs. Hartmann like Chrétien uses the motif of the giants' misplaced faith in their great strength:

> Nû hâte dem risen geseit
> sîn sterke und sîn manheit
> waz im gewaefen töhte
> und wer im geschaden möhte:
> in dûhte er hete gewaefens gnuoc
> an einer stange die er truoc. (*Iwein* 5017-22)

As in the epics, Chrétien's and Hartmann's giants are exceptionally strong, but again, as with the non-knightly epic giants, the romance giants are not particularly quick-moving or agile (although the giants at the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer are something of an exception). Harpin strikes two blows against Iwein, his counterpart in Chrétien only strikes one. The first giant in *Erec* and *Erec et Enide* has no chance to strike at all, being felled by the hero's first joust. The second giant in Chrétien's version only strikes once, but in Hartmann he is so enraged by the death of his companion that he strikes repeatedly, 'sam er wuote' (*Erec* 5528). Hartmann emphasises the giant's clumsy movements compared to the hero's speed and agility:

> der kolbe was sô swaere,
> alsô dicke und er sluoc,
> daz er sô sêre nider truoc
> daz er in sô kurzer stunde
> [in niht erziehen kunde:]
> ê er in ze slage vol erreit,
> Êrecken hete sîn snelheit
> an in und wider von im getragen. (*Erec* 5541-48)

Nonetheless, as in the epics the giants' blows have great effect, clumsy though they are. Erec's shield is split into thirty pieces as he defends himself from the giant's club (*Erec* 5537-40), whereas both Harpin and his counterpart in Chrétien strike the hero so hard that he falls over his saddle-bow as if dead (compare *Yvain* 4216-18, *Iwein* 5047-49). Rather than being reawoken by

the lamentation of a watching maiden (as Dietrich and Nitger are in *Virginal*), Iwein/Yvain is rescued instead by the intervention of his trusty lion. The giants' blows do not, however, merely stun the hero temporarily. It is a different situation altogether in the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode, where both Chrétien and Hartmann have Yvain/Iwein's armour severely damaged:

> man sach den helm rîsen
> und ander sîn îsen
> als ez von strô wære geworht (*Iwein* 6727-29, compare *Yvain* 5578-85)

Yvain and Iwein are both saved in this episode only by the intervention of the lion (see *Yvain* 5627-48; *Iwein* 6737-71).

The giants in these combats do not, at the beginning of the encounter, have any personal grudge against the hero – he is merely a stranger who interferes in their business, or who challenges them (see the Burg zum Schlimmen Abenteuer episode). The obvious exception is the second giant faced by Erec, who is motivated by the desire to avenge his companion (*Erec* 5518-21, *Erec et Enide* 4423-25). In the combats in *Iwein* and *Yvain*, however, as in Erec's combat against the first giant, the hero is prepared to enter combat, if unwillingly (*Iwein* 4973-90, 6657-76; *Erec* 5498-504). At first sight, in *Erec*, the situation of the epics has been reversed: it is the hero who begins the combat out of anger (*Erec* 5505), and the giants who respond. However, Erec's anger is not irrational but has been provoked by the giants' behaviour (*Erec* 5498-500).

There is comparatively little direct reference in these combats to the staple characterisation of the non-knightly giant of the epics: *zorn*. Harpin is contemptuous of Iwein rather than angered by him, which is also the case in Chrétien's version. The two giants of the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode are angered only by the suggestion that the lion be allowed to fight alongside Yvain/Iwein. During the long verbal exchange at the beginning of the combats in *Erec*, the giant is indeed angered by Erec's persistent questioning (*Erec* 5492-93) but this anger is not irrational. The giants of the romance are convinced of their own

superiority.[93] Instead of threatening to hang the hero, the giant in *Erec* claims that he could kill Erec 'like a chicken' (*Erec* 5483). These giants are even further from chivalrous beings than the giants of the epics, which is made clear by the way they treat their captives. Only one of the giants is spared – the second giant from the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode, and only after he has been wounded (*Yvain* 5659-93; *Iwein* 6791-94).

Hartmann's and Chrétien's heroes generally approach the combat against the giants not on foot as do the heroes of the epic, but in the full panoply of knighthood, on horseback and armed with lance, sword and shield (the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode again is an exception, since Iwein faces the giants on foot). This adds to the hero's mobility and diminishes the disparity in the protagonists' heights. In Iwein's combat against Harpin and the corresponding combat in Chrétien, the encounter includes both the usual phases of combat: the lance attack and the duel with swords (or sword against staff). In *Erec* and *Erec et Enide* these two phases are split between the two giants. Erec kills his first opponent with the lance and then draws his sword to deal with the second. In Chrétien's version he remains on horseback, but Hartmann has him dismount (*Erec* 5524).

The first type of blow struck by the hero is the lance-thrust (Motif K). This always strikes home and injures or kills the giant (*Yvain* 4200-03; *Erec et Enide* 4418; *Iwein* 5029-32; *Erec* 5507-14). The injuries vary, as does the amount of detail given. Generally, Chrétien's descriptions of wounds are more graphic: whilst Hartmann has Erec's lance merely protrude from the giant's eye *ellenlanc* (*Erec* 5513-14), Chrétien provides a more gruesome alternative:

> einz fiert le primerain an l'uel
> si par mi outre le cervel
> que l'autre part le haterel
> li sans et la cervele an saut; (*Erec et Enide* 4418-21)

The second type of blow struck is a sword-cut. In all but Chrétien's account of Erec's combat against the second giant, the hero strikes the giant at least once before delivering the fatal blow. These blows again always cause injury to the giant, and again Chrétien's descriptions are the more graphic. Yvain cuts his opponent in the face (*Yvain* 4214b-15) and severs his shoulder

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[93] Lecouteux sees *superbia* as another prevailing trait of the giant (see Lecouteux, 1987, 223). This is not confined to the romances, but it is more prominent in the romances than in the epics. Classen also sees *superbia* as part of the 'standard image' of the giant (Classen, 1993, 107).

(*Yvain* 4239-40) before dispatching him. Iwein in contrast gives Harpin only 'eine wunden' (*Iwein* 5045) and later 'vil grôzen wunden zwein' (*Iwein* 5068). Hartmann's Erec, who has dismounted to face the second giant, strikes him four times to the leg. On the final blow, the limb is severed. so that the giant falls to his knees (*Erec* 5549-54). In the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode, fewer details are given of the blows the hero delivers; however, they are all with the sword. Iwein strikes one of the giants from behind wherever he is not armoured (*Iwein* 6775-79), and Yvain is unable to cause any damage (*Yvain* 5622-24).

The third type of blow is the fatal blow. In the combat between Iwein and Harpin / Yvain and the anonymous giant this is a thrust to the torso (*Yvain* 4241-43; *Iwein* 5070-71) reaching the heart in Hartmann's version and the liver in Chrétien. In the Burg zum schlimmen Abenteuer episode, Hartmann has one giant killed by the lion and Iwein together (*Iwein* 6785-87), whereas in Chrétien's version Yvain beheads one (*Yvain* 5656-58). Hartmann's Erec, having forced the second giant to his knees, is given a burst of strength by divine assistance, throws the giant to the ground and beheads him. This is another moment at which Hartmann deviates substantially from Chrétien's version, in which Erec, still on horseback, strikes a classic 'epic blow' which splits the giant's head and body completely in two (*Erec et Enide* 4442-46; see motif AC from *Karl*).

The romance tradition also features characters who, as has been previously mentioned, are described as unusually tall and strong, but not as *risen*. Hartmann's Mabonagrin is perhaps the most famous example, described as 'vil nâch risen genôz' (*Erec* 9013). *Wigalois* features a similar figure: Roaz von Glois, a superb knight, but a heathen who has sworn his soul to the Devil. Morolt is another such character who possesses the strength of four men (Gottfried von Strassburg: *Tristan*, 6877-6879), but who is never actually described as a giant.[94] In Pleier's *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*, on the other hand, we find true knightly giants (Malsaron, Zirdos, Kirijon and Karabin) as well as the decidedly non-chivalrous Purdian and Fidegast – who again are abductor giants. All of these are described as *risen*, and the knightly trappings

[94] Lecouteux describes both Morolt and Mabonagrin as 'géants rationalisés', see Lecouteux (1982), 39-41. I do not agree with this classification, for the reasons given above. Ahrendt sees Roaz von Glois as a giant-like figure, including in his assessment the fact that Roaz is wounded in the leg during combat, which is a wound frequently received by giants (Ahrendt, 1923, 32).

with which the first four are gifted are a reaction to the earlier and less chivalrous giants in *Daniel*. The difference between knightly and non-knightly is clearly made: Malsaron and his brother surrender to Garel and are spared to become his allies, whilst Purdan and Fidegast are killed outright.[95]

4.3.3 Daniel v. the giants (*Daniel* 2751-844, 3781-824)

The giants in *Daniel* are clearly non-knightly giants, but they are not mere imitations of the earlier examples from the romance or epic traditions. In Stricker's depiction of the giants, as is often the case in *Daniel*, elements of both earlier traditions are combined but given a new slant.[96] The two giants in *Daniel* are invulnerable to all weapons.

The giants in *Daniel* are indeed guardians or servants of the realm of Cluse – one guards the entrance to the kingdom, whilst the other acts as Matur's messenger to Artus's court. The messenger giant threatens Artus with abduction if Artus will not agree to swear fealty to Matur (796-810), so the roles both of abductor and of guardian are at least suggested. Looking more closely at the combats between the giants and Daniel themselves, familiar motivations also reappear. Like the giants in Chrétien and Hartmann, the first giant is at first contemptuous of the smaller and weaker Daniel (2757-61), as is demonstrated by his threat 'ich zerbriche dich als ein huon' (2761, compare *Erec* 5483). The second giant's anger and hostility towards Artus and his army stem from his desire to avenge his dead brother (2922-38).[97]

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[95] Both Purdan and Fidegast use staffs. Garel, however, retreats into the forest and the giants find themselves at a disadvantage. Müller notes that the combats against the giants in *Garel* are very different from those found in *Daniel* (Müller, 1981, 41).

[96] Ahrendt sees the influence of both German and foreign texts on Stricker's depiction of the giants, noting in particular the second giant's similarity in some respects to the legend of Polyphemus (Ahrendt, 1923, 7, 84; see also Pingel, 1994, 177, and Rosenhagen, 1890, 73). This suggestion is supported by further apparent references to Greek myths in *Daniel*, especially in Daniel's encounters with the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche* (see section 4.4.2).

[97] The second giant's reaction on seeing the dismembered body of his brother contains one extremely unusual element: *einen segen tet er für sich* (*Daniel* 2925). A *segen* can be a verbal blessing, a prayer, a farewell, a spell, or a symbolic gesture of blessing, which is apparently the case in this example. In the majority of examples, the *segen* is the sign of the cross (the exceptions being the cases where *segen* refers to a magical spell). This incidence of *segen* is unusual because it is being performed by a giant, and in particular a giant who is closely involved with magic and the supernatural. The giant's pious gesture tends to indicate some form of kinship with the chivalrous and God-fearing society, as represented by Artus and his court, although he himself cannot be described as anything but non-knightly. He even speculates that his brother could only have been killed by the Devil (*Daniel* 2929). It is possible that these details are intended as humorous.

Both of the giants in *Daniel* display anger, or *zorn*. The second giant's anger at his brother's death is 'unmâzen grôz' (3150-51). The first giant, on the other hand, like the non-knightly giant of the epics, begins to rage before the combat has even begun, and without even verbal provocation from Daniel. However, Stricker uses this to demonstrate more than just the giant's irrationally quick temper. The giant has no fear of Daniel's sword, and hence allows his anger free rein (2774). *Zorn* here is not merely the sign of the irrational, non-chivalrous opponent who lacks self-control, but also an emotion that blinds the protagonist to possible threat.[98] The first giant's over-confidence stems from the invulnerability conferred on him and his brother by their mysterious father.[99] The second giant is less confident in combat, partly because he has been blinded, but also because he knows that his brother has already been killed.

The giants have no need of armour, and the first giant does not carry any kind of weapon. Both giants rely greatly on their strength and size, striking with both hands and feet (2779, 2826-30, 3191, 3332-35). However, the second giant does carry a staff, which he uses until it breaks (3188-89). Both giants also make use of any potential weapons they find: the first giant attempts to hurl rocks at Daniel (2805-15), whilst the second seizes knights one by one and uses them to strike at their fellows (3192-95), in an episode which is clearly intended to be humorous. This humour, if nothing else, sets this episode apart from combats such as that between Harpin and Iwein, or between Dietrich and Ecke.

The second giant has no opportunity to strike at Daniel and the combat is described as briefly as Orendel's encounter with Liberian, which also takes place during a mêlée. However, the first giant strikes Daniel four times, twice with his fist, once by throwing a stone and once by kicking the hero's horse. The second giant strikes his other opponents with his staff and with knights that he has captured. He also stamps on his opponents, and actually carries out the threat which first appears in *Erec*:

> swen er danne ouch vor im vant,
> den zerbrach er als ein huon. (*Daniel* 3190-91)[100]

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[98] The typical hero is superior to the giant in his fighting ability because he is able to channel or direct his anger. His emotions are always under the control of his intellect or his will (*Daniel* 3576-81, see footnote 78)

[99] The giants' invulnerability is not an element invented by Stricker. Ecke wears armour which cannot be penetrated by blows (*Eckenlied* 140, 2-4), and Wohlgemuth notes the existence of invulnerable giants in the French tradition, although he sees it as Germanic in origin (Wohlgemuth, 48).

[100] The first giant in *Daniel* also threatens this (*Daniel* 2760-61, see also *Karl* 4643).

The results of these blows, as with the blows dealt by the giants of the epics, are severe. Daniel's horse is thrown back on its haunches by the impact of the rock on his shield (2812-13), and then actually knocked off its feet so violently that it rolls right over three times when the giant kicks it (2830-33). The second giant kills every knight he can get his hands on (3210-14), and when he stamps on an opponent both horse and man are crushed (3332-44). Daniel remains largely uninjured in both cases (although he is described as 'ungesunt' after his fall, see 2834-35).

From the descriptions of these blows it is obvious that both the giants are indeed of gigantic stature. Daniel barely reaches to the knees of the first giant, whom Stricker also describes with typical humour as 'very much unlike a dwarf in all respects' (2766-67). The second giant is able to stamp on a mounted man and to swing an armoured knight by the legs. However, unlike the non-knightly giants of the epics, Stricker's giants are not portrayed as notably ungainly and slow-moving, the second giant indeed appears to be reasonably quick-moving and quick-witted (3155-59), acquitting himself well during the first battle in spite of having been blinded.

The giants are also portrayed less harshly than their counterparts in Hartmann or Chrétien, although this is largely due to their role in the narrative. The first giant is referred to once as an 'ungefüege knabe' (2826) and his blow against Daniel's horse is described as 'grôze unsite' (2829), whilst the second giant is referred to repeatedly as a *vâlant* for his killing of Artus's knights, but Stricker does not depict his giants as abductors and torturers as both Hartmann and Chrétien do.

Both of the combats are provoked by Daniel, and as in the earlier romances the giants have no prior acquaintance with him. Even in the combat with the second giant, the giant is not motivated by a specific grudge against Daniel. His desire for revenge is directed against all of Artus's knights indiscriminately, and since he is blinded before his encounter with Daniel he has no way to recognise his opponent. There is no verbal exchange between the two opponents either. In the case of the first giant, however, there is the usual exchange of threats at the beginning of the combat (Motifs F and G), and a further two occasions on which Daniel taunts his opponent (Motifs U and AG).

Daniel faces both of his opponents with an advantage which none of the epic or earlier romance heroes possess: the magical sword which can cut through any substance. Not only does this weapon mean that he can injure and kill the giants, but it has other side-effects of which Stricker makes good use throughout the text. This weapon has a profound effect on his fighting style: whilst previously he has been shown jousting with great success against Keiî and Artus's knights, once he has won the magical sword from Juran he uses it almost exclusively. The only exception is his combat against the anonymous knight (4015-108), in which he first jousts with the stranger, then draws his sword.[101]

The only type of blow Daniel strikes against the giants is a cutting or slashing blow. Delivered by a magical blade, these blows always sever either a limb or the giant's neck. Daniel begins in each case by severing a leg – or both legs in the case of the second giant (3818-19) in order to bring the giant's head within reach. The second giant is quickly dispatched, but the first giant continues fighting from a seated position until Daniel cuts off his arm (2825). Both giants fall full-length to the ground, at which point the hero can easily decapitate his opponent. Stricker, like Hartmann, favours a less graphic and gruesome description of the injuries inflicted on the giants than Chrétien; there is no single mention of blood.

The only other blow Daniel strikes is in the combat against the first giant. However, this blow is as much self-defence as attack. The giant strikes Daniel with his fist and Daniel parries the blow with his sword:

> daz was dem rîsen unwert.
> mit grimme sluoc er an das swert,
> daz ez ein wênic erklanc
> und im diu hant dorthin spranc
> und des armes wol der dritte teil. (2783-87)

The giant has never been harmed by a weapon before and is not intimidated by the sight of the sword, whilst Daniel's reaction is aimed as much at warding off the blow from the fist as at injuring the giant (see footnote 73).

The epic tradition clearly has a stronger influence on Daniel's combats with the giants than the romance. Although Stricker may well have been inspired by Hartmann to include

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[101] We may assume that Daniel joins in the opening mass joust with lances at the beginning of each of the battles, but this is not explicitly stated.

giants in his work, this is as far as the inspiration extends. The giants Daniel faces are not abductors but rather messengers and guardians (compare *Eckenlied*, *Wolfdietrich*, *Nibelungenlied*). They are enormously tall, like the giants faced by Herzog Ernst. The first giant also commits a *grôze unsite* (*Daniel* 2829) reminiscent of both Olfan and Sigenot (*Wolfdietrich* 70,1; *Sigenot* 24,5). The second giant on the other hand resembles Grandengrus or Sigenot as regards his loud voice (compare *Daniel* 3821-22; *Virginal* 383,8; *Sigenot* 25,5).

More important, however, is the giants' role in the narrative and their relationship with the kingdom of Cluse. It is at this point more than at any other that Stricker departs from the romance tradition. It is possible to see similarities between the conflict with Cluse and the conflict with the Saracens in *Karl* and the *Rolandslied* (particularly in the single combats between the monarchs), but *Daniel* differs from the other two texts in having Artus not only face Matur's army but actually enter Matur's kingdom itself, a kingdom reminiscent of *Orendel* and the kingdom of Jerusalem, or of the fabulous kingdoms encountered by the Greeks in the *Alexanderlied*.

Likewise, the giant messenger in *Daniel* is less reminiscent of the giant of romance than of the 'heathen' giants of the epics. Like Mentwin in *Orendel*, he makes his entrance riding on an exotic mount (a camel, rather than an elephant), and like Mentwin he is richly dressed. The 'Holy War' ethos of *Orendel* is, however, totally absent from *Daniel*.

In contrast, there are few elements in Stricker's single combats against giants which can be said to come directly or solely from the romance tradition. The first giant's contemptuous attitude towards Daniel is closer to that of Harpin. The second giant and Harpin both carry staffs in the manner of the non-knightly giant of the epics, and Daniel, like Erec and Iwein in his encounter with Harpin, remains on horseback to fight.[102] However, in *Daniel* as in many of the epics, the giants play a large role in the main *âventiure*, Matur's challenge to Artus and Artus's battles for Cluse. In Hartmann and in Chrétien, the giants have no direct connection with the hero's central dilemma.

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[102] Orendel does not dismount.

The inclusion of humour in the combats against giants, on the part of the narrator, and of Daniel himself, is another element foreign to Hartmann. In *Erec* and *Iwein*, the giants are murderous abductors or extortionists. In the epics, although the giants are more usually treated seriously, Dietrich's encounter with Wicram in *Virginal* is surely not intended to be read absolutely straight. Humour in the depiction of giants or giant-like characters is also found in the *chanson de geste* tradition – Rainoart is a classic example (see Cohen, 1999, 167-70). Stricker's description of the blinded giant's battle against Artus's knights is similarly humorous, with elements almost of slapstick comedy, particularly in the incident with Keiî (*Daniel* 3224-302, see also 3389-405).[103]

There are also several elements of the single combats against giants which appear to be Stricker's own inventions. The most well-known of his innovations, the introduction of the concept of *list*, plays little direct part in Daniel's encounters with the giants. Nevertheless, Daniel comes across the only weapon which can injure the giants. The magical sword is clearly designed as a response to the invulnerability of the giants and appears to be one of Stricker's own creations. Magical swords are not unknown in mythology but do not appear in any of the other romances or epics featuring single combats against giants. The magical sword effectively nullifies the giants' advantages in combat: not only their invulnerable skin, but also their size, since it can and does cut through their limbs without difficulty. Instead of offering us a protracted combat, such as Dietrich's against Ecke, Stricker disposes of his giants, if not with a single stroke, at least with surprising ease (Böhm, 1995, 201). This can be seen in the way in which Stricker depicts both combats briskly, rarely devoting more than one or two lines to each motif. There is no protraction of the description as in Daniel's combat against the anonymous knight (see for example 4030-34), in which Daniel's life is seriously endangered.

In Daniel's combats against the two giants, then, Stricker does not draw solely on the type of combat found in Hartmann, or indeed in Chrétien. Instead, some aspects of his hero's encounters with giants derive from the epic tradition, and others, principally the elements of

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[103] Note the similarity between the second giant's treatment of Keiî and Witold's treatment of Herzog Friedrich in *König Rother* (*Rother* 1701-09, Rosenhagen, 1890, 74). I am not treating the encounter between Keiî and the second giant in detail, since it is not a combat in the full sense of the word.

humour, seem to refer back to the *chansons de geste*. This is not inconsistent with Stricker's approach to his Arthurian model in general in *Daniel*, using the framework of the romance as a basis on which to add elements of other traditions, as well as elements of his own invention. Elements of his own invention are to be found most obviously in Daniel's combats against monstrous opponents.

4.4 Combats against monsters (Daniel's *âventiure*)

Stricker's *Daniel*, as has been previously noted, does not chart the journey of an initially imperfect hero towards perfection. Unlike the heroes of the 'classical' Arthurian romance, Daniel does not experience a crisis and have to redeem his faults. Likewise, Stricker does not replicate Hartmann's distinctive 'Doppelweg' structure in his own work.[104]

The structure of *Daniel* is more similar in some ways to that of *Parzival*: the narration juxtaposes the Artus episodes with Daniel's *âventiure* in the same way that Wolfram juxtaposes the Gawan and Parzival episodes. Stricker's intention, like Wolfram's, is to allow his audience to compare his two main protagonists, Artus and Daniel, as has been demonstrated in the discussion of Artus's combat against Matur and Daniel's combat against the unknown knight. As in Wolfram, the distinction between the two protagonists and their achievements does not lead to a condemnation of one in favour of the other. Gawan's achievements at Schastel Marveile and in winning the love of Orgeluse are not to be regarded as worthless – it is merely that Parzival has moved into a different sphere and is fighting for other aims.

This should also not be taken to imply that Daniel, like Parzival, achieves a spiritual goal through his *âventiure*. Instead, Daniel succeeds in his *âventiure* (as also in his contributions to Artus's ultimate victory) by using that most famous of his attributes, *wîsheit*. The Trüeben Berge, Liehten Brunnen and Grüene Ouwe episodes allow him not only to use but also to develop his instinct for mental as well as physical agility. Daniel encounters three *âventiure* in his attempt to bring aid to Artus, all of which follow the same basic outline:

- Daniel is approached by or meets a maiden or a lady in distress who begs for his help;
- The opponent menacing her or her realm is non-human;
- The opponent is armed with a magical weapon or otherwise uses magic;
- Daniel overcomes the opponent using *wîsheit* and *list* (Rosenhagen, 1890, 74-75).[105]

Ragotzky remarks on the similarity between these three episodes and the second cycle of *âventiure* in *Iwein* on which Stricker is clearly drawing at this point (Ragotzky, 1981, 66). In particular she emphasises the elements of choice and decision which mark both texts, as well as

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[104] Müller suggests that the 'Doppelweg' is hinted at in the fact that Artus faces two threats in the course of the romance - the first from Matur and the second from the father of the giants, see Müller, 1981, 103.
[105] One could argue that Daniel's combat against the anonymous knight outside the Grüene Ouwe forms another separate *âventiure* in its own right. However, its function is different from the other three episodes, being arguably a parallel of Artus's earlier battle against Matur. *list* also plays no part in this *âventiure*.

the time-factor: both Iwein and Daniel have to accomplish their tasks to a deadline. In *Daniel*, however, the addition of the concepts of *wîsheit* and *list* sets these episodes clearly apart from their counterparts in *Iwein* (see Ragotsky, 1981, 65-66). The danger for the hero in *Daniel* is also greatly increased. Pingel sees all three of these *âventiure* as examples of unjust feuds and as such as parallels of the unjust feud declared against Artus by Matur, in which Daniel also plays the part of rescuer and adviser (see Pingel, 1994, 102-04). This certainly provides an interesting framework for comparison, but it should be noted that at least two of the invaders in the *âventiure* are monsters, neither belonging to nor dependent on normal society or social values. As such, it is doubtful whether they can be said to violate the social strictures on the declaration of feud. Their victims, certainly, do not mention this in their complaints to Daniel, whilst Artus cites Matur's unjust feud against him during his reconciliation with Matur's widow (6147-58).

4.4.1 Daniel v. Juran (1493-738)

On closer inspection of these three *âventiure*, the combat against Juran stands out for a variety of reasons. Juran, unlike the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*, is not truly a monstrous opponent, and is not engaged on a campaign of general slaughter as they are (Rosenhagen, 1890, 77-78). Reisel also distinguishes the Trüeben Berge episode from the two later *âventiure*, noting that Juran offers a 'courtly' threat to the lady of the Trüeben Berge: he intends to marry her, if only by force (Reisel, 1981, 137). The other two invaders, on the contrary, represent a much more basic threat to life and limb.

It is surely also significant that Juran, a dwarf, is a recognisable figure from the world of the Arthurian romance or of the German epic. He is not even truly unusual in his ownership of a magical sword – dwarfs are often associated with magical weaponry or other artefacts. The *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*, on the other hand, are quite probably unique to *Daniel*. Daniel's treatment of Juran also differs considerably from his later treatment of the two 'monsters': he is prepared to offer Juran the opportunity to surrender (1721-24). Nevertheless, the element of *list* appears in the Trüeben Berge episode, just as it does in the later two *âventiure*.

Daniel agrees to fight Juran in response to the pleas of the lady of the Trüeben Berge, who is threatened with marriage to the dwarf, mistreatment at his hands, and the loss of her lands and castle (1221-90, 1310-42). A further inducement is the dwarf's magical sword, which can cut through any substance, and would ensure victory against the invulnerable giant (1301-09). Daniel hears mass, and prepares himself for combat (1493-97). However, it is immediately clear that Daniel does not intend to rely on prowess alone to defeat the dwarf:

> 'dem man ist dicke diu wîsheit
> ze mangen dingen harte guot,
> daz er mit sterke niht entuot.'
> nâch dem twerge wart gesant.
> dô gie Daniel zehant
> mit der frouwen an die zinnen
> und wolde werden innen
> ob er mit deheinen listen
> sîn leben kunde gefristen. (1504-12)

Daniel tricks Juran by presenting him with the suggestion of a 'judicial combat' to decide the issue. The sole condition of the combat is that Juran may not use his invincible sword, but must fight Daniel on equal terms (1538-57).[106] Juran agrees (the narrator comments wryly that this is certainly a result of the power of *Frou Minne* over common sense), leaves his sword at a distance and then draws a circle in front of the castle gates, in keeping with the requirements of judicial combat (1617-31). As the two combatants fight, the onlookers pray for Daniel's victory (1654-1660).

Daniel and Juran fight on foot, using swords and shields. They defend themselves with their shields (1634-35, compare 3036-37), until their shields are destroyed (Motif Z, 1637-39). They trade blows (Motif R, 1640-44), which are so heavy that the onlookers expect both combatants to be killed. Fire springs from their helms (1648-49, see *Karl* 11991), and their swords ring (Motif T, 1650-53).[107] Juran strikes Daniel on the helm (Motif S, 1663-64), breaking his sword, but Daniel repays him with a blow that knocks him from his feet (*Daniel*

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[106] Nottarp, 1956, 277: 'Es folgte noch ein zweiter Eid, in welchem beide Kämpfenden schworen, keine unerlaubten Waffen, keine zauberischen Schutzmittel oder sonst verbotene Gegenstände mitzuführen.'
[107] Juran's words during the combat (*Daniel* 1661-62) differ from the verbal exchanges in *Karl* in that they are neither a challenge nor a threat. Instead, this might be seen as Juran's 'battle-cry' – an equivalent of the Christians' cry of 'Munschoy!' in *Karl*. There is also an element of humour in the suggestion that Juran is a 'Minneritter'.

1666-68). However, no matter how hard Daniel strikes the dwarf, he is unable to pierce Juran's magical armour (1669-81, compare *Rolandslied* 8517-19, 8558-59; *Eckenlied* 140,2-4).

At this point, the weaponless Juran runs to recover his magical sword (Motif W; the narrator comments that Juran 'vergaz sîner zuht', 1683). Daniel pursues him (1687-99), and reaches the sword first. Although he now offers to spare Juran's life, the dwarf refuses to surrender, and Daniel decapitates him (Motif AD, 1730-33).

The combat between Daniel and Juran uses several of the motifs established from the single combats in *Karl*; it also refers to elements of the judicial combat.[108] However, this does not mean that this encounter actually *is* a judicial combat: Daniel is relying here not on God's judgement but on his own intelligence to help him succeed (1502-06). Challenging Juran to some form of 'juridicial' combat is the only way in which Daniel can persuade the dwarf to relinquish the advantage he has in his magical weapon, and to make the combat a 'fair fight'. The ending of the combat, where the duel degenerates into a foot-race, also challenges the audience's expectations, being something of a humorous anti-climax (Rosenhagen, 1890, 107-08). Juran loses, not because God's judgement has been passed against him, but because he has been outwitted by Daniel's *wîsheit* – and because his legs are not long enough.

4.4.2 The *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche* (1977-2206, 4563-800)

The *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*, in contrast with Juran, can only be described as monsters. As previously mentioned, they present a very different threat to their victims, invading their lands with no other motive than to find victims from whom to draw sustenance. In this, they resemble the legends of the vampire (see Rosenhagen, 1890, 84). Although neither the *bûchlôser vâlant* and his followers nor the *sieche* actually consume the blood that they extract from their victims, they depend upon it for nourishment or for healing. Pingel suggests that the monsters may have simply chosen to act in the way that they do out of malice (Pingel, 1994, 99). However, their motivation is clearly not the same as Juran's.

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[108] Reisel sees this episode as a typical judicial combat, with Daniel as champion and the lady not only as accuser but also as hostage (Reisel, 1981, 6-9). She also remarks on Juran's interesting boast that he could defeat Daniel even with a stick (1574-76, Reisel, 1981, 8), which she plausibly interprets as a reference to the *fustus* used by commoners in judicial combats (see also Brall, 1976, 234-35).

Neither the *bûchlôser vâlant* nor the *sieche* appear in any other romance or epic. The *sieche* does appear to owe something of his nature to the legend of Silvester,[109] but the *bûchlôser vâlant* seems to be an invention of Stricker's own. Medieval maps, which often provide pictorial evidence of the kinds of creatures said to inhabit unknown lands, have nothing which corresponds to him, except possibly a race of men who are shown without heads, but with faces set in the centre of their chests. These do have a certain similarity to the *bûchlôser*,[110] although there is no mention of them either sucking blood or carrying a Gorgon head. Pleier evidently found the *bûchlôser vâlant* and his followers too outlandish, since in *Garel* he replaces them with the centaur Vulganus (de Boor, 1957, 76; Keen, 1981, 198-99).

It is also clear that both the *sieche* and the *bûchlôser vâlant* are either creatures in league with the Devil or actually demonic themselves. The *bûchlôser vâlant* is referred to as 'ein tîfelsman' (1879), and as 'des tîfels genôz' (1881). The *sieche*, although not described as a devil, possesses powers that are infernal in origin:

> sînes gewaltes ist sô vil
> den er von dem tîfel hât
> daz ez niht anders vergât,
> wan daz er iuch verfluochet. (4606-09 see also 4622-26)[111]

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[109] In the legend of Silvester, the pagan emperor Constantine persecutes the Christians of Rome and is punished by God with a skin-disease which disfigures him. He is advised to bathe in the blood of three thousand children in order to cure himself. However, the mothers of the children plead with him for mercy and he relents. He is later converted to Christianity by the pope Silvester, and his illness is miraculously healed (Konrad von Würzburg, *Silvester* 874-1875). This, alongside Hartmann's *Armer Heinrich*, seems to be the most likely source for the *sieche* episode in *Daniel*.

[110] Compare Lecouteux (1982), I, 79-81. Here, however, they are clearly headless and thus quite distinct from Stricker's *bûchlôser vâlant*. As so often, Stricker seems to have taken an existing tradition and given it a new slant; instead of monsters with no heads, he presents us with monsters with no bodies.

[111] Reisel sees the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche* as exponents of the sin of *superbia*. (See also footnote 63.) This fault, which manifests itself in the characters' overblown sense of their own superiority and the arrogant behaviour encouraged by this, is intimately linked with the Devil in medieval literature. In *Daniel*, Reisel argues, Matur is the ultimate example of *superbia* - his pride leads him not only to challenge but also to insult and threaten Artus in the person of his messenger, the giant (Birkhan, 1994, 367). Characters such as the giants themselves, as well as the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*, also embody *superbia* in keeping with their allegiance to the powers of darkness. I would agree with this, but would argue that Matur and the giants are less clearly linked with the Devil than the two monsters. As far as the depiction of combat in medieval German literature is concerned, the hero is often pitted against an adversary whose prevailing characteristic is *superbia*. *Superbia* is particularly evident in the dress and armour of the Saracens in *Karl*, and is manifest also in their overconfident taunting of their adversaries. It is interesting, given Reisel's assessment of Matur, that Matur does not speak at all, and although his armour and equipment are described as ornate, the same is said of Artus's (2992-3011; Reisel, 1981, 147). Although in *Daniel* the religious element is considerably reduced in comparison with *Karl*, the *superbia* demonstrated by Daniel's adversaries remains present, largely in the form of supreme self-confidence. For a brief outline of the importance of *superbia* in *Daniel* and in medieval literature in general, see Reisel, 1981, 135-59; for a more comprehensive treatment of *superbia* see Hempel, 1970.

There is also a distinction between the weapons used by the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche* on the one hand and the magical sword used by Juran on the other. The magical sword is clearly portrayed in a positive light; it is claimed by Daniel and used without any detraction from his honour as a knight (see Pingel, 1994, 91; Reisel, 1981, 119, 137), whilst the Gorgon head is discarded into the sea whence it ultimately came. Daniel's decision to throw away the head is discussed below. The *sieche* has no actual weapon other than his magic, but this, as stated above, is clearly described as evil.

Daniel's treatment of the two monsters differs, as has been previously mentioned, from his behaviour towards Juran. He dispatches both without giving them the opportunity to surrender, and does not hesitate to act against the norms of knightly conduct in striking the *sieche* down from behind (Müller, 1981, 102). When speaking to the *bûchlôser vâlant*, he uses the informal address in a manner reminiscent of his approach to the first giant (compare 2025-52 and 2751-64),[112] whilst his speech to Juran is considerably more courteous (1538-57).[113]

In spite of the differences between Daniel's combat against Juran and his encounters with the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche*, it is clear that the three episodes form a sequence during which Daniel's wits and ingenuity are tested at increasingly higher levels. In each case, Daniel has to find and exploit the sole weakness of an apparently invulnerable enemy (see Ragotsky, 1981, 67-68).

These episodes also underline the way in which Stricker moves away from the traditional concept of combat as the resolution to crises. In Daniel's 'judicial' combat against Juran, as previously discussed, the combat is cut short when Juran loses his nerve and runs to fetch his magical sword. In the encounter with the *bûchlôser vâlant*, the phase of actual combat is much reduced and Daniel finally kills his opponent by using the Gorgon head, not his sword. In the

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[112] de Boor, 1957, 70, sees Daniel's speech to the *bûchlôser vâlant* as a gratuitous and humorous demonstration of Daniel's quick-wittedness.
[113] However, Daniel's *list* against Juran requires that he approach the dwarf courteously.

Grüene Ouwe episode, the 'combat' itself is reduced to one motif, a single sword-stroke (Motif AD). This is more an execution than a combat.[114]

This journey away from the 'combat' is caused by the nature of Daniel's opponents. Not only is the *bûchlôser vâlant* more monstrous than Juran, he is also more dangerous, and the *sieche* is more dangerous still. Once Juran is stripped of his magical sword, he is scarcely more of a challenge than any other adversary Daniel faces. It is considerably more difficult to strip the *bûchlôser vâlant* of the Gorgon head, however, and impossible to strip the *sieche* of his magic. It is impossible for Daniel to face the *sieche* on an equal footing and would therefore be suicidal for him to engage the *sieche* in any recognisable form of combat. It is at this point that Daniel has to rely completely on the quality which, before, he has only used as an aid: *wîsheit*.

4.4.3 *list* in Daniel's *âventiure*

Daniel's first use of *wîsheit* and *list* in the *âventiure*, and in the text as a whole, is to persuade Juran to agree to fight without his magical sword. The result of this *list* is, as has been stated, to neutralise the effect of Juran's magical weapon. Likewise, in the encounter with the *bûchlôser vâlant*, Daniel's *list* is aimed at neutralising his opponent's magical advantage. This time, however, he is working against greater odds; the *bûchlôser vâlant* can kill his opponents without coming within reach of them. As he boasts:

> wære al der werlte frümekeit
> an dich einen geleit,
> ichn lieze dich niht genesen. (2059-61)

Daniel's *list* is clearly reminiscent of the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon (see Pingel, 1994, 185, Müller, 1981, 40). The hero avoids the head's deadly gaze by looking only at its reflection, and takes possession of the head himself. There are of course certain differences: the *bûchlôser vâlant* himself has no power and we are not told where he obtained the head he uses, the head itself kills those who look at it rather than turning them to stone, and because it is not the

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[114] See Pingel, 1994, 87: 'Verglichen mit der Juran-Episode ist der Spielraum ritterlichen Handelns weiter eingeschränkt. [...] Die erste Bedingung für einen ritterlichen Zweikampf, daß auf beiden Seiten mit gleichen Waffen, mit Schwert oder Lanze, gekämpft wird, läßt sich in dieser *âventiure* auch auf Umwegen nicht herstellen.' (See also de Boor, 1957, 72.) I agree with this assessment, but would add that it is not only the possibility for *knightly* combat that is reduced, but the possibility for any kind of combat.

bûchlôser vâlant's own head, Daniel is also able to serve the cause of poetic justice by killing his adversary with his own weapon.

In the episode of the Grüene Ouwe, Daniel's wits are put to an even harder test, and the danger is yet greater. Hearing that the *sieche* hypnotises his victims with the sound of his voice, Daniel decides to stop his ears with wax, in another *list* borrowed from Classical mythology, this time from Odysseus's adventure with the Sirens (4576-80).[115] However, this time his opponent is too clever to be taken in easily and to his dismay Daniel learns that another knight previously tried this trick and was struck down by a dreadful curse (4593-636). Hearing this, Daniel is at first tempted to give up, on the grounds that he has no way to fight a man who can curse his adversaries:

> er kunde keinen rât dâ füre
> noch enweste wâ er den solde suochen
> der im von des mannes fluochen
> deheinen fride möhte geben.
> ez enstuont im niht wan umb daz leben. (4666-70)

This time, Daniel can neither trick nor force his adversary into giving up his weapon; nor can he rely on his ability to persuade or to enrage his opponent verbally as he has done in the past.[116] Whilst in his combat against the *bûchlôser vâlant* he is able to protect himself by using the mirror to shield himself from the sight of the Gorgon head, in his encounter with the *sieche* he cannot protect himself from his opponent's hypnotic voice and has to rely on his cunning alone. Instead of using the *list* of stopping his ears, Daniel conceals himself among the *sieche*'s entranced victims and mimics their actions until he can approach the *sieche* when he is distracted (4773-81; see Reisel, 1981, 122).

Over the course of Daniel's three *âventiure*, then, he is forced to develop his wits and his cunning increasingly, and finally to rely upon them entirely. In the first episode, his opponent is easily tricked into laying aside his magical weapon, whilst in the second Daniel has to resort to the *list* of the mirror. In the third, Daniel formulates a similar *list* but is forced to abandon this and find another plan (see Pingel, 1994, 101). As Stricker explicitly states in his digression on

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[115] Rosenhagen, 1890, 79, suggests that this *âventiure*, like the previous one, is also influenced by the myth of the Gorgon.

[116] Daniel cannot speak to the *sieche* for fear of being hypnotised himself. This means that in this encounter there is no verbal exchange between Daniel and his opponent. Interestingly, given the fact that his magic resides in his voice, the *sieche*'s words are only ever transmitted in recorded or indirect speech.

the importance of *list* (*Daniel* 7487-548), cunning and wisdom can achieve more than brute force.

However, it is important not to allow Daniel's intellectual skills to eclipse his physical abilities. Daniel is not, like Pfaffe Amis, a character who relies solely on cunning; he rivals Artus's greatest knights, and his prowess and courage are clearly demonstrated.[117] Stricker's emphasis on the importance of *list* is intended to make a comparison between Daniel and Artus's other knights. Daniel stands out from the other knights because he uses both physical force and *wîsheit*.[118]

4.4.4 Magical weapons in Daniel's *âventiure*

Daniel features many elements of the supernatural, among them an array of magical artefacts and weapons. Although these are not confined to Daniel's *âventiure*, it is almost exclusively Daniel who comes into contact with them. These artefacts can be divided into three groups. First are the magical weapons, including Juran's sword, the Gorgon head and the invisible net (which can also be used in defence). Second are the types of magical armour worn by Juran and the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe. Third are the magical defences which protect realms, for example, the Grüene Ouwe, from invaders. Of all of these, Daniel himself makes use only of the magical weapons: Juran's sword, the Gorgon head and the invisible net.

However, Daniel does not use all of these weapons to the same extent. He takes possession of the magical sword which he needs to kill the otherwise invulnerable giants. He enlists the aid of the daughter of the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe, who controls the magical net, to overcome the father of the giants. As for the Gorgon head, after using it to kill the *bûchlôser vâlant*, Daniel throws it into the sea, but not without hesitation. In a long monologue, he debates whether he should instead use the head to aid Artus:

> als Daniel daz ersach,
> wider sich selber er sprach:
> „wer kunde mir des widerstân

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[117] It could be argued that Daniel's success in battle is due solely to his magical sword; the sword does have a devastating effect on his adversaries (*Daniel* 3622-25, 3804-13, Schröder, 1986, 820). Nevertheless, Daniel does not have magical armour like that worn by Juran or the ruler of the Grüene Ouwe, and he is in as much danger of injury or death as the other knights.

[118] Although Artus's knights do employ *list* when they use arrows to blind the second giant (3160-69), this is only partially successful, in that the giant is still able to kill and injure many of them.

sît ich diz houbet hân?
ez müezen die risen schouwen
die dâ nieman mac verhouwen.
sie müezen hie von tôt ligen.
ich mac wol dâmit gesigen
in dem lande ze Clûse
und helfen dem künic Artûse
von dem künic Matûre.
ez wirt in allen ze sûre
die uns dô wellent wider stân:
ich wil sie diz houbet sehen lân.
des hæte ich aber schande
swenne ich in dem lande
begienge einen grôzen mort.
ich hæte dester bœser wort.
man weste wol, ein armez wîp
næme al der werlte wol den lîp
swenn si diz houbet trüege
und alle die liute dâmit slüege.
man jæhe, ich wære ein tîfel
und trüege ez durch den zwîfel
ich getörste nieman bestân,
und begunden mich für einen zagen hân.
die liute schülten alle mich
und würden mir unheimlich.
ouch kunde ich des niht engân,
solde ich ez dehein wîle hân,
ich würde es lîhte unfrô.
ez quæme eteswenn alsô
daz ich ez vornen sæhe
und mir der tôt geschæhe.
dû hast so mangem den lîp benomen,
dû bist von dem tîfel komen,
der müeze dîn ouch walten:
ich wil dich niht behalten."
iesâ warf erz in den sê.
er sprach: „niemer wirdestû mê
deheinem guoten man kunt,"
und liez ez sinken an den grunt. (2165-206)

This speech is clearly reminiscent of similar monologues in *Iwein*, which take place when the hero is faced with a dilemma.[119] It is true that the Gorgon head would overcome the giants and all of Matur's army at a single stroke, but Daniel decides nonetheless against using it. He has a range of reasons for this decision. First and foremost, if he were to use the head to destroy Matur's army this would be an act of 'mort' (2181), which would bring him disgrace and a bad

[119] Pingel, 1994, 128, notes that where in *Iwein* these situations are resolved by outside forces, in *Daniel* they are resolved by the hero's own actions.

reputation.[120] Second, he would be named a 'tîfel' if he were to use the head (2187) – just as the *bûchlôser vâlant* himself was (see Reisel, 1981, 136). He would also be seen as a coward and shunned by all. Finally, Daniel also reaches the conclusion that he himself would never be safe from the head even if it were securely in his possession (see Reisel, 1981, 119). With this last, down-to-earth assessment, he throws the head into the sea, declaring that the Devil can look after his own (2200-01). The wisdom of his actions is clearly confirmed by the relief of the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen on hearing that the head has been put beyond reach. It is surely not without significance that it is this news specifically which prompts the Graf to put himself and his lands at Daniel's disposal (2253-55).

Although the Gorgon head is clearly inspired by the legend of Perseus, Stricker departs from his model by having his hero throw the head away. Perseus takes Medusa's head with him and later uses it to kill Phineus and Polydectes (see Pingel, 1994, 185), before finally giving it to the goddess Athene, who mounts it on her shield (which perhaps inspired Pleier's description of Vulganus). Clearly, Perseus was not bound by the same juridical and social values as Daniel.

Rosenhagen (1890) suggests an alternative source for the throwing of the head into the sea. In the German epic tradition, Dietrich senses that he is near to death and throws his sword Mimingh into a lake or sea, in the manner of Roland attempting to destroy Durendal, so that it will never be used by another (Rosenhagen, 1890, 80). However, Daniel's motivation is very different. For Dietrich and Roland, their weapon is too precious to be allowed to fall into another's hands, and their act of concealment or attempted destruction is in fact an act of preservation. For Daniel, of course, the situation is quite the reverse – it is others who must be preserved from the weapon. Stricker may well have drawn on the epic tradition in this episode as in many others, but as usual he has given the motif a new and individual interpretation.

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[120] *Mort* is the German equivalent of the French *murtre*, or unjustifiable, covert *homicide* (see footnote 10). The *Deutschenspiegel* does not make the distinction in detail, but clearly distinguishes between *mort* and *tôtslac*, the latter being used to cover cases where the defendant had killed in self-defence or with other mitigating circumstances. The penalties for *tôtslac* vary according to the circumstances and according to the consequent actions of the defendant, but *morder*, along with traitors, rapists and arsonists, are to be punished with torture and then beheading (see *Deutschenspiegel, Landrecht Zweiter Teil,* 110,4-5; 112,1-114, 2). Brall also sees the influence of contemporary law on Daniel's decision to throw away the head (Brall, 1976, 235).

Athough there is no overt reference in Daniel's monologue to *wîsheit*, the reactions of those around him confirm that his decision was indeed wise. The wife of the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen specifically attributes his victory over the *bûchlôser vâlant* to wisdom, rather than to prowess (2347-50), and there is also reference back to the combat against Juran, in which *wîsheit* also played a part (2280-84). In spite of the fact that the decision to discard the Gorgon head does not entail use of a *list*, it does demonstrate Daniel's ability to reason.

4.4.5 Daniel v. the father of the giants (7218-486)

The 'Riesenvater' episode, as it is widely known, is separated from the episodes previously discussed by the fact that it is not part of the series of Daniel's solitary *âventiure*, but instead one of the dangers which beset Artus and his court. It is also a much more comic episode than the previous *âventiure*.[121] Nevertheless, it has some points in common with Daniel's previous encounters which are worth examining.

First, the father of the giants, like Juran, is a 'courtly' figure and his motivation for attacking the court is one which is comprehensible to the courtly world: he is seeking revenge for the death of his sons. This is the only case in the single combats of what could be described as an actual feud (7051-63), which, although unjustified, is the result of a genuine mistake.

Secondly, the father of the giants is a mysterious character, similar to a dwarf but never described as a dwarf,[122] with supernatural strength and speed and a higher degree of

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[121] Pingel, 1994, 303, points out the similarity of this scene to the motif of the abduction of Ginover, noting how the substitution of Artus as kidnap victim and the manner in which he is carried off add to the quality of the absurd in this episode. Rosenhagen, however, remarks on the similarity between this episode and an episode from the Provençal romance *Jauffré*, in which Artus is similarly abducted (see Rosenhagen, 1890, 70-72, see also de Boor, 1957, 72). Rosenhagen suggests that the abduction of Artus was familiar as a story in its own right. Nevertheless, Stricker does use his version to continue the depiction of his hero as contrasted with the other Arthurian knights. The connection between isolated rocks or mountains and supernatural beings is noted by Lecouteux, 1995, 173-78. Folklore traditions are rich in mountainous sites said to be the haunt of giants, monsters or devils.

[122] Ahrendt suggests that the Riesenvater is in fact a dwarf, of the same kind as the *Nibelungenlied*'s Alberich (*Nibelungenlied* 493,1-500,4), who suffers the same fate at Sifrit's hands as the father of the giants does at Daniel's (see Ahrendt, 1923, 85). However, Stricker never actually describes the father of the giants as a dwarf. This implies that he is a more magical and unusual creature, akin to the other 'unclassifiable' monsters portrayed in the text. (See Ahrendt, 1923, 85).

invulnerability even than his sons'.[123] Although he is not described as a *vâlant* or as a *tîfelsman*, as the *bûchlôser vâlant* and the *sieche* are, he too belongs to the shadowy world of the monsters Stricker has invented himself.

Thirdly, the encounter with the father of the giants is another occasion upon which Daniel is called on not only to defeat his opponent by using *list*, but to go beyond this stage to resolve the situation. Although Daniel captures the father of the giants by calling on the aid of Sandinose and her invisible net, victory does not automatically free the Riesenvater's victims (as in each of Daniel's previous *âventiure*). Artus and Parzival remain trapped on the mountain and only the father of the giants can retrieve them. Daniel cannot afford to kill his opponent, instead, he has to persuade him that his feud is in fact unlawful and unjustified (see Ragotzky, 1981, 72). He has to use not only *list* but also his ability to influence his opponent by his words (7643-732). Daniel has used this ability before, both against the first giant and against the *bûchlôser vâlant*, but on those occasions his aim was simply to enrage them. In this case, his task is much more difficult.

The encounter with the father of the giants, then, is the final occasion on which Daniel has to defeat an opponent who is invincible in ordinary combat. Here again, however, the difficulty and the danger of the encounter are increased in comparison to the earlier encounters (see Pingel, 1994, 304). In this case, it is not merely Daniel's life that is at stake; the father of the giants threatens Artus and his entire court. Added to this, the father of the giants is the only one of Daniel's opponents who uses *list* himself, albeit against Artus and his other knights. Daniel cannot trick or force his opponent into surrendering in order to end the menace. In other words, he faces the same difficulty as in his encounter with the *sieche* – *list* alone will not resolve the situation – and he is forced to go beyond the use of *list* backed up by force in order to triumph. It is therefore possible to see the 'Riesenvater' episode as the continuation and the

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[123] Although the father of the giants is described as proof against any blow from a point or a blade, this invulnerability does not seem to extend to blows from a blunt instrument. Daniel threatens to beat the father of the giants to death with the pommel of his sword if the blade will not cut him (*Daniel* 7608-11). This is clearly reminiscent of the combat between Dietrich and Ecke in the *Eckenlied*, where Dietrich, unable to cut through his opponent's armour, knocks him unconscious with his sword-pommel (*Eckenlied* 140, 2-5). Although proof against damage from cuts or stabs, neither Ecke nor the father of the giants is protected against the *force* of a blow.

conclusion of the development of Daniel's abilities which we see in his three independent *âventiure*, and also as the culmination of Stricker's and Daniel's journey away from a reliance on conventional knightly combat.

4.5 Summary

The single combats in *Daniel* display elements from a variety of literary traditions, as has been demonstrated. Stricker draws on the Arthurian romance and on the Roland tradition, together with the German heroic epics and the *Spielmannsepen*, to create a wide range of challenges for his hero to overcome. In doing so, he displays familiarity with many contemporary literary traditions and an ability to interweave the different threads into a coherent whole.

However, as has been shown, this is not his entire achievement. On closer inspection of each instance of single combat, we find that Stricker consistently manipulates and alters details in order to bring about an unexpected conclusion. Either he plays with his audience's expectations by altering the ending of the combat (Artus v. Matur, Daniel v. Juran, Daniel v. anonymous knight), or he alters the placing of the combat relative to other events (Artus v. Matur, Daniel v. Keiî), or he alters the terms of the combat such that his hero has an overwhelming advantage (Daniel v. the giants). Artus's single combat against Matur, whether by misfortune or not, sparks off a series of battles rather than preventing them, and when Keiî and Parzival later in the text also attempt to solve problems through the use of single combat, the revered knight Parzival meets with as ignominious a defeat as the buffoon Keiî. Finally, Daniel is faced with a series of encounters in which a resolution through single combat is increasingly unattainable, and he must rely instead on his mental rather than physical capabilities.

Although Stricker does not suggest that combat can never be used to resolve crises (Daniel's prowess is praised throughout the text, as is that of Artus and the other knights), he systematically contradicts the concept that any and every crisis can be resolved by the use of combat *alone*. In doing so, he also undermines the role of the single combats in *Daniel*. Whereas in *Karl* single combats are used, as has been shown, to demonstrate the superiority of 'good' over 'evil' (embodied by the Christians and Saracens respectively), and to resolve the crises of the text (principally the battle against Paligan's army and the challenge to justice offered by Pinabel), in *Daniel* the single combats have no such function.

5. Analysing battles

5.1 The structure of battles

As with the single combats, although some authors have identified the existence of certain motifs in the depiction of battle (see Bode, 1909, and Grundmann, 1939) or describe medieval battle-depictions as 'formulaic' (see for instance Kühnemann, 1972, 161), few have pursued this line of enquiry further and attempted to establish the existence or otherwise of a recognisable 'battle scheme'. Pütz, 1971, recognises many elements of battle depiction, but his study does not examine these in detail. Czerwinski also studies the motifs used to depict both battles and tournaments in medieval texts from a variety of traditions (Czerwinski, 1975, 101-206).

Ashby-Beach notes the existence of motifs used in the depiction of mêlée combat in the *Chanson de Roland* and provides a skeleton scheme for some of the battle depictions in that text and for the depiction of the hero in combat (Ashby-Beach, 1985, 157-59). However, she also notes that it is considerably more difficult, though not impossible, to distinguish a clear structure in the depictions of mêlée than in the depictions of single combat.

The study which succeeds in defining the structure of battle depictions in the *Kaiserchronik*, the *Rolandslied*, the *Alexanderlied*, the *Eneide*, the *Liet von Troye* and *Willehalm* is that of Schäfer-Maulbetsch (1972). Schäfer-Maulbetsch first discusses the vocabulary and formulae used in the depiction of battle, then summarises the individual battles, and goes on to divide each into phases, often giving details of what occurs in each phase. She also provides sections discussing the battles in each text with reference to the whole text and to current research (Schäfer-Maulbetsch, 1972, II). I have chosen also to divide battles into their constituent phases in order to study them in detail.

5.2 The role of battles

Just as single combats in medieval German literature are frequently used to demonstrate the moral stature of the hero and the justness of his cause, so too battles in literature distinguish right from wrong and bring about justice. However, as with the structure of battles, the role of battles is more complex than that of the single combat, and the motivations for engaging in battle are not always as clear-cut as the motivations of the participants in single combats.

Whilst single combat is often used to resolve matters of honour (for instance, in Erec's combat against Iders, *Erec* 755-1259), battles are more usually fought to protect not only the leader as an individual, but also his army and his realm against physical threats. Frequently, these take the form of attempted conquests which are aimed at killing or subjugating the opposing leader. In some cases, the motif of revenge for previous defeats also plays a part.

Nevertheless, battles, like single combats, also serve to demonstrate the moral, as well as physical superiority of the 'heroes' over their enemies (Cram, 1955, 18). This is particularly evident in texts in which, as in *Karl*, the battles are the main focus of the text, and the heroes are Christians confronted by Saracens (Legros, 2000, 138-39). However, even in texts where religion is not an issue, the battle depictions still offer an opportunity for the narrator to show his heroes in the most flattering light, and to demonstrate through their actions the justness of their cause (Strickland, 1996, 59).

5.3 The tournament

In order to have a clearer idea of the accuracy of literary depictions of battle, it is necessary to look briefly at historical accounts of mêlée combat. These include accounts both of battles and of tournaments. Depictions of tournaments are of particular interest, since tournaments are more likely than battles to have been Stricker's primary 'real-life' source for his depictions of mass combat.

At the time at which Stricker was writing, the tournament was still a mass event, very similar to battle, although it was undergoing a transformation into a more stylised form. The tournament was initially used to train knights to manage their weapons as individuals, and also to fight as a group (Vale, 1981, 68; see also Verbruggen, 1995, 32, and Barber and Barker, 1989, 14). As a result, tactics in the mass tournament mirrored those in early medieval warfare to a great extent; indeed, according to Czerwinski, the only real difference between tournament and war was that the tournament took place at a prearranged place and time, and that 'safe areas' were designated (Czerwinski, 1975, 91). Tournaments, as Keen puts it, were 'very rough occasions', particularly in the twelfth century (Keen, 1984, 85-86; Funck-Brentano, 1946, 69; Benson, 1980, 1; Harvey, 1961, 150-51).

Barber also agrees that war and tournament had a great deal in common (Barber, 1970, 189). It is also true that tournaments differed from battles in that they were not generally fought with lethal intent and a side could be defeated by being pushed back into its 'safe area' (Bumke, 2002, 356). Nevertheless, weapons were not always blunted (Jackson, 1985, 270) and not infrequently the tournament was used as a means of settling scores. At a tournament in Neuss in 1240, sixty combatants were killed (Clephan, 1995, 11). There were even cases of tournaments fought with lethal intent between two warring factions or states (Barber, 1970, 198; Barber and Barker, 1989, 19, 30, 34). It is clear that the line between war and tournament was often blurred.

5.3.1 Disposition of forces in battle and in the tournament

Common to the tournament and the battle was the disposition of the forces involved. In both cases, the opposing forces were divided into a number of smaller groups to enable effective command (Smail, 1995, 66, 124). In battle, these smaller groups were known variously as

'conrois', 'batailles', 'aciés' or 'scharen' (see Smail, 1995, 124-5). In the tournament, the two opposing sides were described as 'scharen' or 'batailles' and these were divided into smaller units (see Bumke, 2002, 349-50, also Vale, 1981, 104). The forces might be evenly matched or not. Each *schar* would have a leader, as would each smaller sub-unit if required. The division of medieval armies into smaller units is also obvious from pictorial sources such as the Bayeux Tapestry (see Pierce, 1986, 153).

Dividing armies into *scharen* served principally to establish a chain of command. Each *schar* would fight as a self-contained unit, according to the plans laid out by the army's overall leader. Each *schar* would usually be made up of men from the same region or regions (Bumke, 2002, 350), and the men would have experience of fighting with the same unit and the same individual companions. The Templars divided their men into 'eschielles' of ten men each, surrounding a nominated leader who carried a gonfanon (Bennett, 1992, 183). A certain amount of flexibility would be needed; the Rule of the Templars provided instructions for a knight who found himself separated from his unit in combat; rather than try to rejoin it he was instead to join the nearest friendly unit.[124]

Fighting in *scharen* with experienced knights was designed to exploit the primary advantages of heavy cavalry, mobility and shock value.[125] Using the couched lance, a *schar* could swiftly bring pressure to bear on one concentrated point in the enemy's ranks and disrupt their formation (Bumke, 2002, 353). For this to succeed, however, the *schar* needed to maintain extremely tight formation during the charge and at the moment of impact. '[The] maximum effect [of the mass charge] could only be obtained by a number of knights acting in unison' (Barber and Barker, 1989, 14).

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[124] See Verbruggen, 1995, 89, and *The Rule of the Templars*, 60, para. 167. This tends to refute the assertions made by Smail and Delbrück that medieval cavalry would lose its coherence and would cease to fight as a group or obey orders after the initial charge; see Smail, date, 114; also Delbrück, 1923, 314. Sproemberg however notes that Verbruggen perhaps slightly overstates the tactical brilliance of medieval knights; see Sproemberg's chapter on 'Die feudale Kriegskunst', Sproemberg, 1959, 30-55, especially 41.
[125] Anna Comnena described the combined effect of a charge with the couched lance as enough to 'bore ... through the walls of Babylon'; see *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, 416.

Moving and fighting in close order was also essential for defensive reasons, since a disordered *schar* was vulnerable to attack. In descriptions both of tournament and of battle, *scharen* are continually judged by the narrator in terms of their ability to maintain formation (see *Rolandslied* 3972-76; *Karl* 4899-901; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, *Frauendienst* 263,1-4). Even in the *chansons de geste*, where the focus is generally on individual heroics, the use of extreme close order is continually mentioned (Czerwinski, 1975, 64; Verbruggen, 1995, 73-74).

In short, maintaining close order was of the greatest importance, both in offensive and in defensive manoeuvres. However, it was not without its drawbacks; if the ranks were too tightly packed together it was difficult to mount an attack. Extreme close order also prevents the kind of single combats so frequently described in both French and German texts from occurring (Verbruggen, 1995, 74-75).

5.4 Exaggerations in literary depictions of battles

Literary battles frequently include instances of what appears to be considerable exaggeration, and Stricker's battles are no exception. Two elements of battle description appear in particular to be the occasion of exaggeration by medieval authors: the size of the armies involved, and the prowess of the heroes or leaders in combat.

5.4.1 The size of the armies

It is generally accepted that medieval accounts of battles, even historical accounts, are not accurate as far as the size of the armies is concerned (Czerwinski, 1975, 103). Verbruggen refers to 'fantastically exaggerated numbers' in the chronicles (Verbruggen, 1995, 6). This is also common in literary texts, and is almost certainly a device to add to the drama of the account. There is however some reliable historical evidence for the actual size of armies, and of *scharen* taking part in tournaments. The general picture is of much smaller forces, generally composed of small numbers of knights and larger numbers of foot-soldiers and other auxiliary forces. Verbruggen considers as reasonable figures showing armies consisting of at most 1200 knights and 9000 foot-soldiers (from the Battle of Ascalon, 1099; Verbruggen, 1995, 6-7). More details can perhaps be gained from depictions of tournaments. Bumke describes the participants in a tournament at Friesach in 1224, giving details of the numbers involved; on each side there were 300 men, although he notes that the numbers were not always so evenly balanced (Bumke, 2002, 349). The figures also do not take account of the foot-soldiers ('Kipper').

The size of the smaller units depended on the strength of each individual nobleman (Czerwinski, 1975, 92). Vale, drawing on Verbruggen and Smail, considers that the smaller groups were formed of between ten and forty knights each (Vale, 1981, 104). Barber sets the number at roughly thirty or forty (Barber, 1970, 191), and suggests that this figure could be applied both to tournaments and to battles.

5.4.2 The prowess of the hero in combat

Other striking examples of exaggeration, however, appear in the depiction of the hero or the leader in combat. Again, the numbers of opponents involved are frequently exaggerated (see,

for example, *Karl* 7016-19). Another element often included is the ability of the hero to survive uninjured throughout the battle, while the rest of his army is decimated.

This may not be wholly exaggeration. The heroes of medieval literary battles are almost exclusively members of the nobility, and as such, like their real-life counterparts, would have access to the best armour and the best weapons available, which would offer them considerably greater protection than that worn by the majority of the combatants. This would give them an advantage both in attack and in defence over most of their opponents.[126]

[126] Strickland, 1996, 169-76, suggests that early medieval armour would be generally effective, but would be unlikely to protect the wearer against a blow from a couched lance or against longbows or crossbows.

6. Battles in *Karl der Grosse*

6.1 Introduction to the battles in *Karl*: Methodology

Although both of the battles depicted in Stricker's *Karl der Grosse* are fought between Christians on one side and Saracens on the other, and are closely connected in terms of their significance to the narrative, in other respects they are have very little in common. This is true in respect of both the style of the depiction (the length of the description, the motifs and submotifs used) and the type of confrontation being depicted. This rules out the possibility of creating a single scheme, as for the single combats in *Karl*, which could profitably be applied to both battles. On the other hand, the battles in *Karl* are not as disparate as the single combats in *Daniel*; they are fought using the same weapons and between the same protagonists, Christians and Saracens, and there is also an element of repetition in the description. This makes it possible to apply the method of schematic analysis in a modified form to each battle.

The battles in *Karl* also do not exist in isolation. In this instance, it is possible to look not only at the main text itself, but also at its direct literary source, Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied*, and at the original French *Chanson de Roland*, and to compare three different versions of the same battles.

6.1.1 Note on terminology

First, however, there is a question of terminology. Although there are two confrontations between military forces in the text, which I have referred to above as 'battles', these confrontations are divided, in the depiction at least, into several smaller-scale confrontations, which again could be described as 'battles'. I refer throughout to the confrontations between the two Christian and Saracen armies as 'battles' and the individual phases comprising them as 'engagements'.

6.2 Schemes for the battles in *Karl*

For ease of reference, on the following pages I include a list of the engagements making up the battles in *Karl*, together with the combat schemes created for the battles. There are two schemes for the first battle, one covering engagements 1-10 and the second covering engagements 11-17. This reflects the general differences between the earlier and later engagements. As with the scheme established for the single combats, the schemes for the battles include only those motifs and submotifs which appear in at least two engagements in one or both phases of the battle. Other submotifs such as a leader or named Christian being killed in battle rather than in single combat are not included. Although this is a crucial submotif, it occurs only in engagement 17, and therefore cannot be included in the scheme.

6.2.1 List of the engagements in the battles in *Karl*

First battle
Preparations (4085-924)
Phase 1
Engagement 1 (4965-5230)
Engagement 2 (5231-84)
Engagement 3 (5385-508)
Engagement 4 (5509-56)
Engagement 5 (5557-608)
Engagement 6 (5609-64)
Engagement 7 (5665-782)
Engagement 8 (5783-870)
Engagement 9 (5871-970)
Engagement 10 (5971-6020)

Phase 2
Engagement 11 (6021-226)
Engagement 12 (6354-526)
Engagement 13 (6572-659)
Engagement 14 (6660-722)
Engagement 15 (6790-7252)
Engagement 16 (7279-440)
Engagement 17 (7441-8232)

Second battle
Preparations (8941-9666)
Engagement 18 (9684-733)
Engagement 19 (9734-54)
Engagement 20 (9755-10015)
Engagement 21 (10082-332)

(Detailed summaries of the two battles are given in Appendix 3)

6.2.2 Schemes for the first battle: phase 1 (engagements 1-10)

Motif	Engagements in which motif appears
A: Saracen *schar* advances	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
B: Physical appearance of Saracens	6, 7, 9
C: Single combat	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
D: 'Munschoy!'	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10
E: Leader encourages his men	1
F: Saracens retrieve fallen banner	3, 5, 8
G: Saracens react to loss of banner	3, 5
H: Horses are spurred/urged forward	1
I: Forces charge	1, 7
J: Lances are lowered	1, 2, 9
K: Battle is joined	1, 3, 4,
L: Lances pierce armour	1
M: Fatalities from lances	7, 9
N: Mêlée	1, 3, 4
O: Swords pierce shields/armour	2, 3
P: Leader/named Christian in combat	*1, 2, 3, 8, 9*
Q: Christian morale high	4, 6, 7, 8, 9
R: Christians break Saracen lines	2, 4
S: Fire flies from blades	6
T: Saracen morale weakened	3, 7
U: Saracens flee	2
V: Many Saracens killed	3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10
W: All Saracens (variant: all except one) killed	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10
X: Saracen bodies litter the ground	3, 5
Y: Saracen souls are sent to hell	5, 7
Z: Specified number of Christians killed	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
AA: 'Victory against the odds'/Divine intervention	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10

Submotifs belonging to **Motif P: Leader/named Christian in combat** in Engagements 1-10:

Submotif	Engagements in which submotif appears
P.i: Leader/s attack Saracens	1, 8
P.ii: Saracens attack leader	1
P.iii: Leader/named Christian/*schar* comes to aid of comrade	1, 9
P.iv: No-one can stand against leader/named Christian (by extension; against his sword)	2, 3
P.v: Leader takes sword in both hands	1
P.vi: Metaphors/digressions describing leader in combat	3, 9
P.vii: Leader breaks through Saracen lines	8
P.viii: Leader/named Christian kills Saracens	1, 8, 9
P.ix: Leader/named Christian wounds Saracens	8
P.x: Leader's/named Christian's sword pierces armour	8
P.xi: Leader remains uninjured	8

6.2.3 Schemes for the first battle: phase 2 (engagements 11-17)

Note: Motifs that do not appear in the schemes for phase 1 of the first battle are marked with a bullet point.

Motif	Engagements in which motif appears
A: Saracen *schar* advances	11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
B: Physical appearance of Saracens	15
•1: Leader determined to kill leader of Saracens	16, 17
C: Single combat	11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
D: 'Munschoy!'	11, 12, 15, 17
E: Leader encourages his men	11, 12, 15, 16
•2: Christians mourn	12, 14
H: Horses spurred/urged forward	11, 12, 16,
I: Forces charge	12, 14, 15, 16
J: Lances are lowered	17
•3: Jousts	11, 12, 15
L: Lances pierce armour	15
•4: Lances break	11, 16, 17
•5: Both forces endangered	11, 13
N: Close quarters	12, 17
O: Swords pierce shields/armour	15
P: Leader/named Christian in combat	*11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17*
Q: Christian morale high	11, 17
•6: Many Christians killed	13, 14, 15,
•7: Saracen morale high	13, 16
S: Fire flies from blades	15, 16
T: Saracen morale weakened	12, 13, 15, 17
U: Saracens flee	11, 14, 17
V: Many Saracens killed	12, 14, 15, 17
W: All Saracens (variant: all except one) killed	11, 13, 14, 15
Z: Specified number of Christians killed	11, [16], 17
AA: 'Victory against the odds'/Divine intervention	11, 12, 15

Submotifs belonging to **Motif P: Leader/named Christian in combat** in Engagements 11-17:

Submotif	Engagements in which submotif appears
P.i: Leader/s attack Saracens	15, 17
P.ii Saracens attack leader	11, 13, 17
P.iii: Leader/named Christian/*schar* comes to aid of comrade	13, 15, 17
P. •1: Leader/named Christian breaks through Saracen lines	11, 15
P. •2: Leader's/named Christian's sword rings	11, 16
P. •3: Leader's/named Christian's sword burns/causes armour to burn	11, 15
P.v: Leader takes sword in both hands	12
P. •4: Description of leader (physical appearance, weapons, horse etc.)	14, 15, 17
P.vi: Metaphors/digressions describing leader in combat	12, 16
P.viii: Leader/named Christian kills Saracens	11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
P.ix: Leader/named Christian wounds Saracens	12, 13
P.x: Leader's/named Christian's sword pierces armour	11, 12, 16, 17
P. •5: Leader/s favoured by God	15, 17
P.xi: Leader remains uninjured	11
P. •6: Leaders'/named Christians' morale high	11, 17

P. •7: Saracens flee from leader	12, 14, 17
P. •8: Leader pursues fleeing Saracens	11, 14
P. •9: Leader killed in single combat	12, 15, 16
P. •10: Leader avenges comrade	12, 17

6.2.4 Schemes for the second battle (engagements 18-21)

I include in the schemes for the second battle motifs and submotifs which appear only once during Engagements 18-21 but which also appear in the schemes for Engagements 1-10 and 11-17.

Motif	**Engagements in which motif appears**
A: Saracen *schar* advances	18, 19, 21
B: Single combat	18, 19, 20, 21
C:'Munschoy!'	18, 20
D: Forces charge	20
E: Lances are lowered	20
F: Mêlée	18, 20
G: Many Saracens killed	18, 19, 20, 21
H: Christians avenge dead leader	20, 21
I: Named Christian schar/leader and his men in combat	*18, 20*
J: Leader/named Christian in combat	*19, 20, 21*
K: Saracen morale high	20
L: Many Christians killed	20
M: Fire springs from the swordblades	20
N: Swords pierce armour	20
O: Saracen morale weakened	20
P: Many Saracens killed	19, 21
Q: Saracens flee	21
R: All Saracens (alternative: all except one) killed	20, 21
S: 'Victory against the odds'/Divine intervention	20, 21

Submotif belonging to **Motif I: Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men in combat** in Engagements 18-21:

Submotif	**Engagements in which submotif appears**
I.i Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men kill many Saracens	18, 20

(**Note:** There are several other motifs describing the actions of a named Christian schar or a named Christian leader and his men, but these appear only in Engagement 20, and so are not included in the scheme.)

Submotifs belonging to **Motif J: Leader/named Christian in combat** in Engagements 18-21:

Submotif	**Engagements in which submotif appears**
J.i: Leader/named Christian's sword pierces armour	20
J.ii: Leader/named Christian kills Saracens	20

J.iii: Leader/named Christian encourages his men	21
J.iv: Leader/named Christian comes to aid of comrade	20
J.v: Leader/named Christian remains uninjured	20
J.vi: Leader/named Christian breaks through Saracen lines	20
J.vii: Leader's/named Christian's sword rings	19, 20
J.viii: Metaphors/digressions describing leader/named Christian in combat	20
J.ix Description of leader (physical appearance, weapons, horse etc.)	20

6.3 Tactics and preparations for the two battles

The circumstances of the two battles in Stricker's *Karl* are completely different. The first is an attack from ambush on a force on the march, which gives the defending force little time to deploy. The second is a pitched battle, in which both forces have time to deploy for a confrontation for which they are already prepared. This difference between the two battles is most clearly visible in the tactics of the Christian forces in each case: Roland's force fights a defensive action and Karl's an aggressive action. This is of course also influenced by the spirit in which the two forces undertake the battle. Roland and his men are aware of their disadvantage and determined to give their lives bravely and to win a spiritual victory if not a physical one (4703-10). By contrast, Karl and his men enter the fray with the sworn aim of avenging Roland and of punishing the Saracens for their pride and idolatry (9045-54). The Saracen forces, in contrast, fight both battles aggressively, with the desire both to take revenge for past losses and to annihilate the Christian army. Stricker pays less attention to the Saracen perspective than to the Christian on the whole, although he does show us the reactions of the Saracen commanders during the course of the two battles.

The difference in type of battle, from the perspective of the Christians at least, necessitates a striking difference between Roland's and Karl's tactics. In both cases, we are told how the commander divides his forces (as in the accounts of tournaments), but in the case of Karl, little further detail is added. He gives command of 20,000 of his best men to Wineman and Rapote, to act as his guard. He demonstrates his trust in the two men by giving them also Roland's sword Durndart and horn Olifant, and places himself under their protection for the duration of the battle (9133-36). In addition, Karl makes a point of speaking to and encouraging the individual leaders in his army, who each have charge of their own smaller forces from their own native area (9145-9271). Finally, Karl gives his own personal banner to Gotfrid (9272-75).

In contrast, Roland's tactical preparations seem almost fevered. He divides his army hastily between the Twelve Peers, giving each leader 1550 men (4855-59). 1000 are sent to take their station on the hillside to prevent the Saracens from making a flank attack (4851-54).

Lastly, Alrich of Normandy is left with 400 men to provide the reserves (4860-66).[127] Roland then gives direction on the tactics his army is to employ.

The reason for Roland's frenetic preparations soon becomes clear. Since this is not a pitched battle, Roland has to guess how Marsilie's army will attack. Given their vastly superior numbers, the Saracens can choose either to encircle and overwhelm the Christians with all of their forces at once, or to send their men in in waves.[128] Roland orders two possible tactics: if the Saracens advance all at once, then each *schar* is to form a circle centred on its own leader and to hold firm, letting no Saracen through (4899-4904). If the Saracen army advances in waves, then each *schar* will be met by a fresh Christian *schar*, giving the rest of the Christians opportunity to rest (*Karl* 4905-14, see Czerwinski, 1975, 111).

Given this situation, Roland's refusal to blow his horn and summon aid seems at first to make little sense from a strictly military point of view. His force is outnumbered and taken by surprise. Fighting a defensive action whilst calling for reinforcements is the only way in which he can save his men, as Olivier points out (4703-38). Roland has two principal reasons for refusing: first, that to call for help would imply a lack of faith in God and would dishonour them. Roland has after all been entrusted with his army and with the rule of Spain by Karl himself. Second, Roland argues the Saracens would believe the Christian morale to be low and would themselves consequently become more confident (4738-78).

Roland's first argument belongs to the ethos of the Holy War that pervades the entirety of *Karl*, as well as to that of knightly honour.[129] His second argument against summoning reinforcements, on the other hand, highlights a very real military dilemma. As a greatly

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[127] Verbruggen notes the importance of reserves, especially when the battle has deteriorated into a general mêlée. See Verbruggen, 1997, 9-10.

[128] Smail specifically notes encircling as a tactic used by Saracen armies: 'Whenever they could they compassed [the enemy] about like bees [...] If they could not surround, they outflanked [...] Such tactics were sometimes the result of numerical superiority, but they were always an essential part of the Turkish way of warfare, and were always employed in whatever number they appeared' (Smail, 1995, 79, see also Strickland, 1996, 115).

[129] The ethos of the Holy War is certainly related to the ethos of the judicial combat; nevertheless, as was shown in the previous section, the two are clearly not interchangeable. It is also necessary to be careful when using terms such as 'Crusade' and 'Crusading ethos' (Hölzle, 1972, and 1980, 31-32). Note Keen, 1984, 51: 'Knights in the chansons de geste are "Christian soldiers" because they are both Christians and knights, and not because of any special commission that the authority of the church has given them.' See also Daniel, 1984, 116: 'The religion of the poems (*chansons de geste*) is certainly sincere, but it is not the primary motive for fighting.' Note also Trotter, 1988, 70, 85, and Dobozy, 1985, 128. The term 'Holy War' is also capable of several meanings (Johnson, 1997, 37-42; see also Erdmann, 1935, 1).

outnumbered force, fighting a defensive action, Roland's army desperately needs support from Karl. On the other hand, even at the beginning of the battle Karl would require time to turn his army around and make his way back (as we see later). Whether Roland blows his horn or not, there will be an interval during which his army has to hold off the Saracens. The only way that they can realistically hope to defeat their far larger enemy is by maintaining their own morale and by weakening that of the Saracens.

Roland's decision not to blow his horn, therefore, is perhaps not solely a stubborn decision to maintain honour, but a response to a military dilemma. His tactic is deliberately to refuse to call for aid in the hope that this will inspire enough fear in the Saracens to keep them at bay and even defeat them entirely. The narrator later confirms the initial vindication of Roland's strategy: the Saracens are expecting to take Roland's force entirely by surprise, which makes them overconfident (a trait frequently ascribed to individual Saracens in *Karl*, as previously noted), but as soon as they see that the Christian force has formed up in readiness their confidence begins to ebb away (4935-54) in spite of their numerical advantage. For this reason, in spite of the misgivings voiced by Olivier, Roland is at first confident that his men will defeat the Saracens. Roland's mood, and the mood of the army, begins to turn only when fatigue begins to take its toll. It is at that turning-point, urged on by Turpin, that Roland finally blows his horn to summon Karl, not to save their lives, but to avenge them.

The battle between Marsilie's army and Roland's force includes a number of turning-points, echoed in the structure of the narrative. These mark the gradual foundering of Roland's plan. The battle deteriorates from clearly defined encounters between individual Christian and Saracen *scharen* into longer, less structured combats dominated by depictions of Roland, Olivier and Turpin fighting against increasing odds. The latter part of the final engagement is fought by Roland, Turpin and Walther alone against the remnant of the Saracen army.

6.4 The first battle

The first phase of the battle is formed by engagements 1 to 10 and the second by engagements 11 to 17. Basic differences between the two phases are evident from the schemes above, which show the motifs describing the actions of the forces as a whole in each phase: the number of motifs remains constant in contrast to the number of submotifs relating to the leader or named Christian in combat, which rises from 11 in the first phase to 19 in the second. The shift in emphasis from the armies as a whole to the leaders and other named figures is obvious.

The second phase of the battle introduces seven new motifs, marked with a bullet point. Some of these are merely alternatives or additions to the motifs used in the first phase (see for example Motif J: Lances are lowered and Motif •3: Jousts), but others are completely new and indicate the change in the Christians' fortune (Motifs •2: Christians mourn and •6: Many Christians are killed). There are also ten new submotifs describing leaders or named Christians in combat. Again, some of these, such as Submotif P.•9: Leader killed in single combat, demonstrate how the tide of the battle is turning.

It should also be noted from the two schemes that many basic motifs appear throughout the course of the battle, and that each engagement follows the same basic outline:

- Saracen force approaches (Motif A)
- Single combat between leaders (Motif C)
- Mêlée (Motif N) – in engagements 1, 3, 4, 12, 17
- The Saracens are killed (Motif W)
- Report of Christian losses (Motif Z)

Each engagement, to some extent, is a microcosm of the overall battle. This formulaic quality to the battle depiction in *Karl* may be traced back to the highly formulaic *Chanson de Roland*, as will be discussed later.

6.4.1 First battle: phase 1

During the first phase of the battle, Roland's strategy is largely successful, defeating each *schar* that approaches. The Christians, however, also lose an increasing number of men in each engagement, with the exception of engagement 8. The Christians are able to succeed against such large numbers because they are sustained and aided by God (Motif AA, common to most

of the engagements). There is little description of individual Christian leaders except for the joust against the Saracen leader. The first three engagements, in which we see Roland, Olivier and Turpin leading their *scharen*, are the exception: Roland is surrounded by Saracens and has to cut his way out (5127-37); nothing can stand before Olivier's sword (5330-31); Turpin fights like a wild boar (5501-02).[130]

By and large, the first engagements follow this pattern with little variation except in small details. Engagements 7, 9 and 10, however, introduce new developments. In engagement 7 the Saracen *schar* is accompanied by 1000 archers. These are despatched along with the rest of the Saracen *schar*, but Christian losses in this engagement are almost three times as high as in the preceding engagement. In engagement 9, Motif AA is crucially altered. Although the Christians are fighting courageously, God ordains that their fortunes begin to turn (5943-50).[131] The numbers of the Saracens are so great that they are able to recover, reform and attack the Christian *schar* for a second time. Hatte, the leader of the ninth *schar*, is forced to give ground amid heavy losses (5951-56). Although he defeats the Saracen schar with the aid of the reserves, and although in engagement 10 Bernger defeats the tenth Saracen *schar* without losing a single man, the ninth engagement marks the first decisive moment of the battle.

One element which is clearly important in the first phase of the battle is the felling of the Saracen banner. The banners are important to the Saracens for various reasons: they are a means of identification on the field; they also symbolise the authority of their owner and are a focal point for the morale of each individual *schar*.[132] The leader of the Saracen *schar* frequently carries the banner himself, but even where this is not the case, the Christians frequently fell the banner as well. The loss of the banner dismays the Saracens (engagement 3) or enrages them (engagement 5), and where possible they retrieve their fallen banner immediately (Motif F).

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[130] In *Karl*, as in *Willehalm* and in other texts, the overall leader of the army is always to the fore in battle, leading by example, rather than commanding his forces from behind (see *Chanson de Roland*, 1188-212, *Karl*, 4965-5036, *Willehalm* 21,1-21). Historical accounts show the same pattern from Hastings to Agincourt and beyond. From a modern perspective, this might seem foolhardy, but according to Verbruggen the smaller size of medieval armies made this an absolute necessity, as did the emphasis on the ideals of chivalry. A commander who failed to lead from the front would be viewed as a coward (Verbruggen, 1995, 52; see also *Willehalm*, 21,20-21 and Müller-Ukena, 1984, 46).

[131] DeVries, 1999, examines the responses of medieval authors to military defeats, particularly in the context of the concept that God grants victory to the righteous.

[132] 'The importance of banners on the battlefield cannot be overstated' (Bennett, 1992, 186; see also Verbruggen, 1997, 90 and Czerwinski, 1975, 128-36).

The Christians – and especially Roland's force – rely less on their banners (which are seldom even mentioned) than on their battle cry 'Munschoy!'. The cry acts both as identification and as encouragement, coming as it does usually after the victory of the Christian leader over the Saracen in the joust.[133] The fact that all of the Christians, regardless of which leader they are following, use Karl's battle-cry, underlines the fundamental unity of the Christian forces.

Roland's strategy, then, is initially successful, but also costly, and cannot ultimately be maintained. During the next phase of the battle, we see the gradual failure of his plan. Engagements 11 to 15 bring a change of tactics on the part of the Saracens. A reorganisation of their forces is necessary in order to bring greater numbers to bear on the Christians at once. While this is carried out, the eleventh and twelfth *scharen* are sent in at once to keep the Christians occupied.

6.4.2 First battle: phase 2

The eleventh engagement begins with almost the same pattern as those that have preceded it. The two Saracen *scharen* approach. Roland kills one Saracen leader and Olivier injures the second, who flees. The Christians cry 'Munschoy!'. However, this engagement differs from those that precede it in that all the Christians are fighting, rather than one *schar* alone (6039-42). After the initial jousts, the narration focuses on depictions of the various leaders in combat (6142-213; Submotifs P.ii, •1, •2, •3, viii, x, xii, •6 and •8). There is little depiction of mêlée.

It is telling that at this point the Saracens begin to notice the signs of fatigue in the Christians (*Karl* 6265-66). It is no longer possible for the Christians to face each approaching threat with one *schar* alone; the Saracens' numbers are too great. From this point in the narative onwards, the Christians no longer have the opportunity to rest and maintain their defence at the same time. Once again, Roland takes the opportunity to encourage his men (6326-31).

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[133] Jean de Vignay refers to three types of signals which may be given during battle: 'voiels' (signals given by the human voice, battle-cries), 'demivoiels' (signals given by trumpet or other instrument) and 'muz' (visual signals, such as the use of banners). He emphasises the importance of a clear understanding of these signals throughout the army; see Jean de Vignay, *Li livres Flave Vegesce de la chose de la chevalerie*, 76. See also Steinhoff, 1964, 40.

Roland's tactic remains the same: to intimidate the Saracens with a show of fearless determination in the hope of weakening their morale. He and Turpin remind the Christians both of the divine aid on which they must rely and of the heavenly reward which awaits all martyrs in order to bolster their confidence (6319-53).[134]

At the beginning of the twelfth engagement, the Christians clearly need all the confidence they can muster. Stricker chooses this moment to provide a particularly vivid image of the ground shaking under the hooves of the Saracens' 100,000 charging horses (6356-61). The Saracens are angered by the sight of their fallen comrades and attack fiercely. They are given further encouragement by the death of Samson (Submotif P •9) in the first moments of the engagement. The death of a Christian leader marks a turning-point in the engagement: this is also the first engagement in which the Christians are depicted as mourning (Motif •2).

Nevertheless, the Saracens themselves do not appear to be heartened by their success in killing the Christian leaders. Roland's assessment that the Saracens are always prone to cowardice and that they can be inspired with fear by a determined adversary is largely borne out during the course of the battle.

The first new tactic on the part of the Saracens appears in the thirteenth engagement, where the emphasis shifts briefly back from depiction of the Christian leaders to the actions of the Christians *en masse*. In this engagement, the Saracens initially attempt to encircle the Christian force and trample them to death (6587-88). However, as Roland had ordered at the beginning of the battle, the Christians hold their formation and ward off the Saracens with the lances left from previous engagements (6589-91). This tactic proves to be costly for both sides as the engagement develops into a murderous scrum:

dô quam von in beiden,
den kristen und den heiden,
maneger in die grôsten nôt.
mohte der gîtige tôt
mit guoten rittern werden sat
daz wære geschehen an der stat. (6643-48)

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[134] See Trotter, 1988, 97: 'Divine intervention is the most striking means of incorporating the ideology of holy war into the epic [...] [it] has a three-fold function: it proves the correctness of Church teaching, the justice of the war and of the ruler's actions; it illustrates the idea of God, often described in terms reminiscent of feudalism, assisting his men; and it provides an "immanent manifestation of the metaphysical struggle between Good and Evil"'.

As expected, some of the Saracens again attempt to flee, but this time are caught and killed by their comrades (6656-58). Others are killed by the Christians without raising a weapon (6653-55). As before, all of the Saracens are killed.

The tactic employed by the Saracens in engagement 14 is more subtle. Knowing that the Christians are exhausted, they mount a surprise attack, sending a *halschar* (concealed force) to attack them while they are resting and may have taken off their armour (6659-67). Fortunately, however, the Christians see the Saracen force approaching and charge at them. At this point, having lost their element of surprise, the Saracens flee and are cut down by the Christians, who then regroup and rest.

Having tried these two new tactics and seen them fail, the Saracens revert to their original plan of attack in engagement 15 and the third force of 100,000 is sent in, trusting to their superior numbers to ensure their victory. The sight is sobering for the Christians; Turpin comments that he has never seen so great an army (6799-805). Nevertheless, the Christians maintain their courage. Once more, as before engagement 12, they make confession, and this time they also exchange the peace as a sign of their united purpose. There is no longer any talk of physical victory over the Saracens; their goal is now simply to achieve the spiritual victory:

> 'wir suln in kristeniu lant
> hie machen solhiu mære,
> daz got unser schephære
> von schulden êre müeze hân.
> swenne ez kunt wirt getân
> unser werc und unser arbeit,
> dâ von wirt diu kristenheit
> gebezzert und geêret
> und daz gotes lop gemêret.' (6854-62)[135]

The fifteenth engagement marks another turning-point in the battle between Roland's and Marsilie's armies. The exhausted Christians cannot fight any longer; Roland is filled with pity at the sight (7012-15). Karl and his army are now too far away to return in time to help. Nevertheless, Roland now blows his horn, but not in a futile attempt to summon aid. As Turpin suggests, if Karl is aware of his nephew's fate, he will return both to bury the dead and to avenge them.

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[135] Turpin's words are not intended only for the Christians of Karl's army; they are also directed at Stricker's audience. Stricker is linking his work with the process of edification through example.

The immediate result of Roland's action is positive; the sound of the horn causes the Saracens to lose consciousness and the Christians are able to overcome them.[136] However, just as Roland originally feared, Marsilie hears the horn and realises its significance (7264-72). Marsilie is also aware that Karl cannot return in time to aid the Christians. This, and the proof that the Christians can no longer defend themselves, finally persuades him to take the field (which he has conspicuously avoided doing up to this point). The Saracens have finally been given assurance that victory could be theirs.

The sixteenth engagement begins with an account of the jousts between the two forces, but quickly focuses on the actions of Roland and the other remaining leaders, now that Marsilie has finally taken the field. Roland in particular is determined to defeat Marsilie personally and takes no heed for his own safety. After Marsilie has been defeated and maimed, the Christians only have 61 men remaining.

The seventeenth engagement focuses exclusively on the actions of the surviving Christian leaders and the last surviving named Christian, Walther, whose force of 1000 have all been killed. We are not told how the last of Roland's followers are killed; instead, we are given a series of heroic leaders' deaths. Olivier is the first to fall: after he has been injured in single combat his strength quickly fails. He is separated from the other three and is finally stabbed to death with lances. Walther is the second: the Saracens encircle the three surviving Christians and shower them with projectiles. Turpin is wounded but continues to fight as the Saracens attempt first to separate him from Roland, then to encircle the two again and kill them with arrows and javelins. Finally, as Roland blows his horn and the Saracens flee, hearing Karl's army approaching, Turpin succumbs to his injury. Roland dies alone on the battlefield from internal rupture caused when he blew his horn to summon Karl.

The Saracens' tactics in this last engagement are interesting in that they demonstrate once more the fear that Roland and the other Christian leaders inspire. After Olivier has killed Algariez (7483-98), no individual Saracen dares to attack the Christians (except the unnamed Saracen who attempts to steal Roland's possessions, believing him to be dead). Instead, they fall

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[136] This can be compared to the moment in *Daniel* when Artus and his knights overcome the last of Matur's armies by using the sound of the golden statue (*Daniel* 5761-78).

back on the tactics they attempted earlier: they attempt to encircle the Christians, they use lances and projectile weapons to avoid having to come to close quarters, and lastly they attempt to separate the individual Christians and bring each down by force of superior numbers – each of which tactics is designed to minimise the risk to the individual Saracens involved.

6.5 The second battle

It is not as easy to establish a scheme for the second battle (engagements 18-21) as for the first simply because there are fewer data and if one were to include only those motifs which appear in two or more engagements the scheme would be inadequate. For this reason I have included in the scheme motifs and submotifs which appear only once during engagements 18-21 but which also appear in the schemes for engagements 1-10 and 11-17. The structure of the second battle also causes problems because, unlike the first battle, there is one main clash (engagement 20) in which a great deal of detail is introduced which does not appear in the other engagements and hence cannot be included in the scheme.

Motifs which are of clear importance but which do not feature in the scheme include the Saracen battle-cry 'Preciosa!' which is used only in Engagement 18. This is an important element in this second battle, the more so since Marsilie's army does not use a battle-cry at all. 'Preciosa!' is Paligan's cry and also the name of his sword (9423-36), and demonstrates his personal authority on the field, particularly as compared to Marsilie. Another interesting motif related to the use of battle-cries and banners is Karl's insistence on displaying his beard (9378-85), which is discussed below.

The most important addition in the scheme for engagements 18-21, however, is Motif I: Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men in combat, together with a constellation of submotifs, many of which appear only in engagement 20 and hence do not feature in the scheme. These follow the same general trend as the submotifs for the depiction of the leader or the individual Christian in combat (Motif J), but indicate the addition of a new focus on mêlée combat in engagement 20. The submotifs not included in the scheme are the following:

- Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men suffer few losses (9810-13)
- Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men kill all Saracens who oppose them (9814-16)
- Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men avenge dead leader (9820-22)
- Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men fight for heavenly reward (9887-89)

Motif H is also a new addition and indicates the main motivation of Karl's army: to avenge Roland.

While the battle between Roland's men and Marsilie's army is an ambush, with the Christians fighting defensively, the battle between Karl's and Paligan's armies is much briefer,

and fought aggressively by both sides. In this battle, the Saracens make no attempt to conceal their presence; they send messengers to Karl demanding his surrender. Karl refuses, and the second battle differs from the first also in that it is the Christian leader who decides that the battle must take place and issues his challenge.[137]

This formal demand for surrender, countered by a challenge to combat, mirrors the verbal encounters that are frequently to be found in the single combats (see pp. 54-55). The repetition of these verbal motifs in the build-up to mass combat emphasises the fact that the conflict is as much between Karl and Paligan as individuals as it is between their two armies. In this second battle, although there are named Christian leaders, the focus of attention is clearly Karl himself.

As previously mentioned, Karl's and Paligan's deployments of their armies differ greatly from Roland's deployment of his men. There is very much the sense that this is to be an equal combat to establish which side is in the right (recalling one element of the judicial combat tradition, see Jackson, 2004, 51), although the Saracens, as before, have the numerical advantage. It is interesting to note that Paligan, unlike Marsilie, has placed a spy among the Christian ranks in order to be informed of all their movements.

6.5.1 Second battle: opening engagements

As this is a more formally arranged battle than the first, it follows a more formalised pattern. The first engagement (engagement 18) consists of jousts between the first *scharen* to advance. This follows roughly the same pattern as the engagements of the first battle, but with one deviation: the Christian leader, Gerolt, engages the Saracen, Malprimes, but does not kill him; instead, the two are separated by the press (9719-23). Otherwise, the Christians, as before, defeat the Saracens.

Seeing the defeat of their advance force, the Saracens send out a second *schar* as reinforcement (9734-35; beginning of engagement 19). Karl responds by taking his own *schar* and moving to the support of the Christians. Gotfrid now achieves the typical victory in single combat against a Saracen king, and Karl himself kills many Saracens (9748-54). There is no

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[137] Cram, 1955, 16-18, notes the types of challenges and other formalities that occur both before and after battle.

conclusion to engagement 19, but apart from this it follows the basic pattern of engagements 1-10.

6.5.2 Second battle: main engagement

The main engagement which follows, on the other hand, introduces an element absent in almost all of the previous engagements. The battle between Roland's and Marsilie's armies focuses primarily on the actions of the Christian leaders, as backed up by their *scharen*, and the first two engagements of the second battle have also followed this pattern. In the main engagement, however, the focus shifts from the individuals to the various Christian *scharen* as groups and for the first time there are protracted and repeated descriptions of mêlée combat.

The engagement opens with the advance of the Christian and Saracen forces *en masse*, the encircling of the Christian position and the failed attempts of the Saracens to break the Christian lines. The unified motivation of the Christians is also depicted as they pile up Saracen bodies in revenge for the death of Roland, and is symbolised in the figure of Wineman, who cuts down the Saracens with Roland's own sword (9785-91).

Next, Stricker narrows the focus and moves into the depiction of the various named Christian *scharen* (Motif I). The first of these are introduced simply by their land of origin – Lotharingia, Burgundy, Brittany – but then the names of their leaders are also introduced: Richard of Normandy and his *schar*, Gebewin and his Englishmen, Aymunt of Flanders and his *schar*, and so on, until the appearance of Naymis of Bavaria (9873-86). The *scharen* come from all over western Europe, demonstrating the extent of Karl's rule. This phase of the engagement concludes with another brief overview of the Christian and Saracen forces as the Saracens continue their attempts to break the Christian lines.

The third phase of the engagement, and the narrowing of the focus yet further, is introduced with the appearance of the king of Persia, who leads his *schar* into the Bavarian lines and causes many fatalities. To this attack, led by an individual, Naymis responds in person and a single combat ensues. Naymis is overcome, but Karl and Wineman arrive in time to rescue him, and Karl then kills the Saracen leader in the second single combat (9960-66). Finally, one sole Saracen survives the assault and returns to bring the news to Paligan.

6.5.3 Second battle: final engagement

The narrowing of the focus during engagement 20 from the depiction of general mêlée to the depiction of individuals in combat is designed to lead up to the longest and most spectacular single combat of the two battles: the encounter between Karl and Paligan. Although Paligan's intention on taking the field in Engagement 21 is to break through the Christian lines in as many places as possible (10069-73), there is no reference to the Saracens' response to his orders. Instead, the narration focuses exclusively on Paligan himself as he kills Rapote and then immediately faces Karl (10092-99). After Paligan's death, although the Saracens still have a large force of men, they are disheartened and in disarray. As a consequence, there is only a brief depiction of the rout and slaughter of the Saracen army:

> beidiu verre unde bî
> sluogens ir sô vil zetal,
> unz daz velt über al
> geverwet mit dem bluote was
> und beidiu bluomen unde gras
> mit bluote dâ bevlozzen
> und diu wazzer drabe engozzen. (10318-24)

The death of Paligan in single combat with Karl forms not only the highlight of the second battle but also its symbolic conclusion.

6.6 Comparison with the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Rolandslied*

Stricker's *Karl* is based primarily on Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied.* Although the basic outlines of both German texts remain generally faithful to the French original, many details have been altered, including several occurring in the description of the two battles. It is clear from the most cursory examination of the three texts that the German battle descriptions expand considerably on the French, and that the style of description in the German versions differs from that in the French. However, what is not immediately clear is that there are also differences between the two German versions of the battles and that Stricker's text, when compared with Konrad's, shows interesting innovations.

In cataloguing the differences between Konrad's and Stricker's texts, I have compared my own findings with those published by von der Burg (1974) and Ammann (1885-1901). The list of differences I have produced is not exhaustive, as I have concentrated on those differences which are of clear importance to comparative study of the depictions of battle. I have also concentrated less closely on a study of the *Chanson de Roland* than on the two German texts.

6.6.1 Basic outlines of the two battles

6.6.1.1 The first battle

The description in the *Chanson de Roland* of the battle between the Frankish rearguard led by Roland, and Marsilie's Saracen army, is highly stylised (Heinemann, 1973, 8). The structure of the battle is made up almost entirely of single combats, of which twelve, between Roland and nine of his comrades and twelve opposing Saracen noblemen, take place before battle is joined. Once the two forces have clashed, descriptions of mêlée combat do appear, but they are clearly not the focus of the author's interest; the battle continues with a series of further single combats depicting the prowess of the main Frankish characters, until we learn abruptly that all the Frankish army has been killed except for Roland, Turpin and Gualter.[138]

The first battle, at least in the French version of the narrative, also focuses largely on the comparison of the two most prominent Frankish leaders, Roland and Olivier:

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[138] This style of combat description is common to the *chanson de geste*; see Daniel, 1984, 104-05.

Rollant est proz e Oliver est sage,
Ambedui unt merveillus vasselage. (*Chanson de Roland* 1093-94)

Both companions amply demonstrate their abilities as warriors during the battle that follows and remain friends in spite of their differences.[139] The companionship between the twelve peers is one of the most important elements of the narrative (Benton, 1979, 246). Companionship between the individual leaders continues to play a role in Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied*, but its importance is diminished by the restructuring of the narrative.

Where the French battle begins with twelve single combats which take place before the armies have met, Konrad like Stricker has his armies muster in *scharen* and the Saracens engage the Christians one *schar* at a time.[140] Konrad keeps the single combats between the Christian leaders and the Saracen noblemen, but adds intervals of mêlée combat, which he uses to depict the tactics used by the Saracens and the Christians, and also, from time to time, to keep score of the losses on either side. This elaboration also entails the creation of new characters, particularly Saracens, who are usually killed by the Christian leaders. Konrad's battle, in contrast to the French version, is formed of a succession of engagements between groups punctuated by single combats. After the first Saracen *scharen* have been vanquished, Marsilie himself takes the field and there is a clash between larger forces in which the Saracens are decimated but all the Christians killed.

Konrad also introduces a considerably more hostile portrayal of the Saracens in general than is to be found in the *Chanson de Roland.* Unsurprisingly in a work by a clerical author, his narrative is rounded out with religious digressions, either on Biblical figures or on the concept of martyrdom. Where, in the French text, the Franks are fighting for the glory of 'la dulce France' as much as for any religious motive, Konrad's heroes are striving to prove themselves

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[139] Brault discusses the debate between Roland and Olivier at length and cautions against too simplistic an interpretation of the passage; see Brault, 1978, 180-85.
[140] Pütz, 1971, 33, 46-51, suggests that it is not possible to tell whether the engagements in the *Rolandslied* take place consecutively or simultaneously. In some cases, however, it is possible to determine the order of events; Falsaron only challenges Olivier after Roland and his men have defeated Adalrot's schar and destroyed the Saracens' idols (*Rolandslied* 4017-244) In *Karl*, on the other hand,the *scharen* definitely attack consecutively (*Karl* 5385-90; 5557-58; 5609-10; Pütz, 1971, 52-53).

worthy of the heavenly reward in the afterlife (Borst, 1976, 234; Haas, 1989, 131).[141] The theme of comradeship between the twelve brothers-in-arms remains, but takes second place.[142]

Stricker's version of the first battle, in overall structure, does not differ considerably from Konrad's. As previously shown, we are presented with a series of engagements between *scharen*, beginning in each case with a single combat. However, the structure in *Karl* is more clearly defined. Unlike Konrad, Stricker accounts for all twelve of the first Saracen *scharen* and keeps a more regular record of losses.[143] As previously noted, Stricker also marks the point at which the tide of the battle begins to turn against the Christians and pays more attention to the effects of weariness on them. By and large, though, the structure of the battle is the same as that portrayed in the *Rolandslied.*

Stricker also presents us with a hostile view of the Saracens, although less hostile than Konrad's.[144] He also makes use of digressions on religion and martyrdom, but again perhaps less emphatically than his predecessor. His account concentrates more on the physical details of combat than the *Rolandslied* or the *Chanson de Roland.*

6.6.1.2 The second battle

The depictions of the second battle, the pitched encounter between the emperor Karl and the Saracen monarch Paligan, are considerably more divergent. All three texts depict this battle as a mixture of mêlée and single combat, but in each text it is a different mixture. Almost the only elements they have in common are the preliminaries (the challenge issued by Paligan's

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[141] One of the most telling additions Konrad makes in his version is to the appearance of Roland as he arms himself: 'daz criuze tet er für sich, / ze rücke unt ze sîten' (*Rolandslied* 3332-33). However, it was not unusual for medieval authors in general to claim divine assistance or at least good will as the reason for victory; see DeVries, 1999, 88. See Backes (1966) for more detail on the influence of religious writing on the style of the *Rolandslied.*

[142] Ashcroft (1992) suggests that the theme of comradeship is bound up in the concept of unanimity in the cause of Christendom, which he sees as the central addition Konrad makes to the tradition. For more details on Konrad's alteration of the ethos of the *Chanson de Roland*, see Bieling (1936).

[143] Canisius-Loppnow, 1992, 36: '[Man findet] häufig die Position vertreten, der Stricker habe Unstimmigkeiten des Rolandsliedes beseitigt, Ungenauigkeiten geklärt und sei insgesamt durch rationale Überlegungen bei seinen Veränderungen geleitet worden'; see also Brandt, 1981, 129-37.

[144] Stricker does reflect the Crusading influence on his narrative by describing the Christians as 'pilgerine' (*Karl* 9444-46). Brandt feels that the lessening of the 'religiosity' in *Karl* as compared with the *Rolandslied* has been overstated (Brandt, 1981, 32-73).

messenger, the ordering of the armies) and the climactic single combat between emperor and king, together with its aftermath.

Both the *Chanson de Roland* and *Karl* depict the clash between the first *escheles* or *scharen*; in the *Rolandslied* this is only implied by the single combat between Gotefrit and the Saracens' banner-bearer. In all three texts, Naymis is almost killed by a Saracen adversary, but the identity of the adversary is different in each text. In the French version, Baligant kills a number of Christian noblemen who remain alive and well in the two German versions. It appears that, whilst in the depiction of the first battle the German authors felt constrained to follow their model, the encounter between Karl and Paligan provided both Konrad and Stricker with an opportunity for innovation. The most striking difference between *Karl* and the two earlier versions is that once again Stricker tightens up the structure of his battle, narrowing the narrative focus throughout until the final single combat.

6.6.2 Points of comparison: the first battle

6.6.2.1 Roland's duty

In all three texts, the basic outlines of the two battles remain largely the same, in spite of the differences listed briefly above. Nevertheless, both Konrad and Stricker alter one factor of crucial importance not only to the depiction of the first battle but also to the depiction of Roland himself: Roland's position and duty.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, Charles and his army are about to withdraw from Spain through the mountain pass, and Ganelon suggests Roland as commander of the army's rearguard:

> 'Seignurs barons,' dist li emperere Carles,
> 'Veez les porz e les destreiz passages;
> Kar me jugez ki ert en la rereguarde.'
> Guenes respunt: 'Rolland, cist miens fillastre
> N'avez baron de si grant vasselage.' (*Chanson de Roland*, 740-44)

As commander of the rearguard (a position both of danger and of honour in a retreating army) Roland's duty is to protect the main body of the army from attack by the enemy, especially in the pass which is perfect terrain for an ambush. Roland is not an independent commander;

should an attack be made, it is his duty to inform Charles. This, of course, he refuses to do at first.

There has been discussion of whether the narrator of the *Chanson de Roland* intended his audience to censure Roland for this decision. The consensus currently seems to be that the narrator does not himself utter any criticism of Roland, and that although Olivier criticises Roland's decision not to blow his horn, this does not affect the depiction of either character during the course of the text.[145] Nevertheless, from a military point of view Roland's decision is irresponsible. Not only does Roland expose the body of the Frankish army to attack if he fails to halt the Saracens, but he sacrifices all of the the rearguard, 'De France dulce [...] la flur' (*Chanson de Roland*, 2430; Le Gentil, 1968, 204), thus depriving Charles of his best knights. The only military justification for Roland's actions is that he has indeed also destroyed Marsilie's force and averted the immediate threat to Charles. If Roland's decision not to blow his horn was a gamble, he has both won and lost.

It seems that Konrad found the question of Roland's possible dereliction of duty too convoluted to be included in his version of the events. He does not avoid all question of Roland's responsibilities to his uncle and to his men, but he makes a critical alteration to Roland's position at the beginning of the battle. Konrad's Roland is not in charge of the rearguard of Karl's army but instead has been given rulership over Spain and an army to defend his lands:

> Die fürsten zuo drungen.
> vil grôz lob si im sungen.
> Ruolanten si hôhten.
> über Yspanie si in krônten
> dem heiligen Criste ze êren. (*Rolandslied*, 3147-51)

Roland remains a vassal of Karl (*Rolandslied* 3115), and as such still has a responsibility to his liege lord to defend his fiefdom wisely. Nevertheless, as far as the battle against Marsilie is concerned, Roland is no longer part of Karl's army and has considerably more freedom to organise his defence as he thinks fit.

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[145] Buschinger is extremely critical of Roland's decision in the *Chanson de Roland*, see Buschinger, 1996b, 70. Le Gentil, 1968, refers to Roland as succumbing to 'la sublime folie de l'héroisme' (204), but notes that Roland makes no mention of repentance in his dying monologue (207-08). Ailes provides an interesting summary of the various arguments (see Ailes, 2002, 36-49).

Konrad's main reason for simplifying Roland's position in this way is probably a desire to avoid any criticism of his hero.[146] As previously mentioned, the *Rolandslied* extols the concept of the Holy War, portraying the Christians and Saracens unashamedly in black and white terms. Such an ethos is not entirely absent in the *Chanson de Roland* but it is balanced by other elements such as the admiring tone adopted by the narrator while describing Baligant (*Chanson de Roland*, 3155-64).[147] Konrad removes almost any hint of such admiration and portrays his Saracens as evil, ugly, proud, cruel and, especially the rank and file Saracens, cowardly. The Christians, on the other hand, are martyrs and saints, comparable to the Holy Innocents (*Rolandslied* 5755-74). Konrad avoids or minimises any details which might obscure this fundamental message. Stricker likewise has Roland crowned ruler of Spain and thus effectively a 'free agent' in the first battle (*Karl* 2959-67, 3895-99).

6.6.2.2 Roland's motivation

The principal reason why Roland refuses to blow his horn remains the same in all three texts; although Marsilie's army far outnumbers his own, he is confident that his smaller force will be able to defeat the Saracens as it has done before (compare *Chanson de Roland* 1057-58; 1068-69; 1080-81; *Rolandslied* 3876-77; *Karl* 4744-45). However, there are other reasons for his decision.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, Roland appears to be mainly preoccupied with his own standing and that of his men. He counters Olivier's urging with the argument that he will be personally dishonoured if he calls for help (*Chanson de Roland* 1053-54).[148] He also takes the view that the rearguard is acting on behalf of Charles and that it is their duty to suffer and die for him rather than dishonour him by showing fear in front of the Saracens (*Chanson de Roland*

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[146] See also Ashcroft, 1992, 38-40. Buschinger also notes that Konrad places more emphasis on Roland as hero than does his source (Buschinger, 1996b, 65).
[147] Ailes, 2002, 73, suggests that the reason for the positive description of Baligant is primarily to set him up as a worthy adversary for Charles (see also Tolan, 2002, 126).
[148] See Wasserman, 1980, and Yeandle, 1994, for a discussion of honour and shame.

1008-16).[149] He implicitly refers to the importance of setting a good example to others (*Chanson de Roland* 1016).

The same argument is to be found in the *Rolandslied*:

> zuo disen fûlen âsen
> ne wil ich niemer nicht geblâsen.
> si wânten, daz wir uns vörchten
> oder helve zuo in bedörften. (*Rolandslied* 3889-92)

Here again we see reluctance to show what could be interpreted as fear in front of the Saracens, although Konrad's Roland is concerned for the honour of Christendom rather than for his own standing. However, as previously argued, a military commander would have other reasons for avoiding a show of fear. Roland's display of confidence should both encourage his outnumbered men and potentially also unnerve the Saracens (see Buschinger, 1996b, 70; von der Burg, 1974, 113).

There is little evidence in the *Chanson de Roland* that Roland's confidence does indeed inspire confidence in his men or fear in the Saracens (largely because the beginning of the battle focuses so narrowly on the depiction of the single combats). Nevertheless, after Roland's and Turpin's speeches in the *Rolandslied* and in *Karl* the Christians' resolve is clear (see *Rolandslied* 3941-47 and *Karl* 4827-37), as is their joy at facing the Saracens. In both German texts likewise, the Christians' evident confidence inspires fear in their enemies:

> haiden, die dâ ze vordereste wâren
> unt der cristen vermezzenhait ersâhen,
> si riten widere zesamene.
> si wæren dâ ze dem zagele
> alle gerne gewesen. (*Rolandslied* 3995-99)

> die wânden, sô si zuo riten,
> daz si gesigten ungestriten.
> die dâ für begunden gâhen
> und die wârheit wol ersâhen
> [...]
> si riten wider ze samen.
> si gerou daz si quâmen dar.
> si wæren hinden an der schar
> michel gerner gewesen.
> si triweten niender genesen. (*Karl* 4941-54)

However, it is only Stricker who makes the connection between Roland's own confidence and that of his men, which in turn causes the Saracens to lose heart:

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[149] Brault, 1978, 178, emphasises the fact that Roland is referring to a spiritual duty as well as to a duty to their monarch.

swie vil der heiden wære,
Ruolant was âne swære.
er fröute sich des strîtes sô,
daz sîne gesellen wurden frô
und gehabten sich deste baz.
die heiden erschracte daz. (*Karl* 4935-40, compare *Rolandslied* 3985-90)

Roland's confidence has the desired result; his men are visibly heartened, shocking the Saracen scouts who, typically, are expecting an easy fight. Stricker's Christians like Konrad's are also heartened by the prayer and act of confession they have just made, and the absolution granted to them by Turpin. Nevertheless, Stricker goes furthest in emphasising the importance of the leader's role in maintaining morale among his men.[150]

When Roland does eventually blow his horn, Stricker makes noteworthy alterations to the immediate results. In the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Rolandslied*, there is no response from the Saracens to the blowing of the horn. In Stricker's version, however, the course of events is significantly altered (see the table below).

Chanson de Roland	*Rolandslied*	*Karl*
1753-56: Roland blows his horn for the first time.	6053-56: Roland blows his horn for the first time.	7093-95: Roland blows his horn for the first time.
		7262-75: Marsilie understands that Roland has lost hope of victory and decides to take the field himself.
2103-05: Roland blows his horn for the second time.	6673: Roland blows his horn for the second time.	7887-88: Roland blows his horn for the second time.
2111-12: Charles's men blow their horns	6679-84: Karl's men blow their horns.	
2115-23: The Saracens hear the horns and attempt a last attack on Roland.	6697-708: The Saracens hear the horns and attempt a last attack on Roland.	7905-14: The Saracens hear Roland's horn and attempt a last attack on Roland before Karl can arrive.
		7969-71: Roland blows his horn for the third time.
		7982-83: Karl's men blow their horns.
		7995-8001: The Saracens hear the horns and flee.

[150] The leader's presence was indispensable for maintaining morale among his men. This is true of close-quarter combat in general; see Ford and Ripley, 1998, 4. Although in *Karl* and particularly in the *Rolandslied* the Christians are never shown displaying any kind of fear, battle was indeed a terrifying experience, and the training the knights received was in part to ensure that they were not overcome by fear (Verbruggen, 1995, 40). The leader's conduct is also essential (Verbruggen, 1995, 53). Before the second battle in *Willehalm*, the French knights turn and flee but are rounded up by Rennewart (*Willehalm* 321,1-327,30), using both physical violence and verbal persuasion.

In Stricker's text, Roland blows his horn three times, rather than twice as in both earlier versions (von der Burg, 1974, 118). Stricker also modifies the reactions of the Saracens to the horn; and in all but the last instance his alteration worsens Roland's situation. In the first case, after Roland has finally blown his horn to summon Karl, Stricker introduces a short passage in which Marsilie deduces Roland's motivation:

> 'ich weiz vil wol daz Ruolant
> hiute morgen niht blies sîn horn.
> dô hete er des vil wol gesworn,
> si solten den sic an uns bejagen.
> nu hoere ich wol si sint erslagen.
> sît er die schame gebrochen hât,
> ich weiz wol wie sîn muot stât.
> mohtens fürbaz geherten iht,
> ern hete noch geblâsen niht.' (*Karl* 7264-72)[151]

This, as well as the fact that Karl has now travelled too far to return in time to aid his nephew (*Karl* 7273-75), finally decides Marsilie to take the field himself.

In the second instance, after Roland has blown his horn for a second time Stricker omits the episode in which Charles/Karl and his men blow their horns in response. The effect is that, in *Karl*, the Saracens' attempt to kill Roland is a direct reaction to his blowing his horn, not, as in the two other versions, a reaction to the sound of the approaching emperor and his army. In Stricker's version, Karl and his army only blow their horns in response to Roland's final summons, and the effect is quite different: the Saracens flee immediately. Out of the three occasions on which Roland blows his horn in *Karl*, in two cases the Saracens' immediate response is to attack. By making these alterations, Stricker simultaneously vindicates Roland's earlier decision not to blow his horn, and increases the drama of the moment when he finally does call for Karl to return.

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[151] Marsilie's interpretation of Roland's motivation here is interesting. Marsilie sees Roland's actions more as they are portrayed in the *Chanson de Roland*: a preoccupation with honour, not to suffer 'schame' (*Karl* 7269). This ethos is curiously echoed in the description of the Saracen brothers Alfabin and Ebelin: 'die nû des vanen pflâgen / und wol getorsten wâgen / beidiu guot unde lîp / durch êre und durch diu werden wîp' (*Karl* 7281-84). This too is more reminiscent of the French poem than of Konrad's version, although the description is entirely Stricker's invention. The Saracens' failure to understand the Christians' faith can also be seen in the way in which Alderot misinterprets their prayers at the start of the battle (*Rolandslied* 3548-51, *Karl* 4300-03). He perceives the action of the Christians in falling to their knees as a sign of fear. For a discussion of Muslim views of the Crusaders, see Khattab, 1989.

6.6.2.3 Tactics and structure

The surprise attack by Marsilie's army should call for a defensive response. The Christians must hold their ground and repel the Saracen attack; in the *Chanson de Roland* this is all the more crucial given that they are defending the main body of Charles's army.

The *Chanson de Roland*, however, contains the least detail on the deployment and the division of the Frankish army of the three texts. Gualter is sent to guard the flanks of the rearguard when the main army departs. Olivier, seeing the advancing Saracens, suggests to Roland that the Franks should move to higher ground directly in front of the pass so that Charles's army can see that they are embattled (*Chanson de Roland* 1103-04). Although gaining the high ground would give the Franks an advantage, Roland, characteristically, refuses to comply on the grounds that they would be perceived as cowards. Instead, he orders his men to advance (*Chanson de Roland* 1165) and the two armies move to meet each other in the valley (*Chanson de Roland* 1108, 1169). Olivier has only time to caution the Franks to keep together and strike the Saracens hard (*Chanson de Roland* 1176-79) before the first single combat begins.[152]

The beginning of the battle in the *Chanson de Roland* also appears almost ritualised. Both forces move to meet each other without any advantage of terrain, at which point they halt to allow single combats to take place between the lines.[153] Each of these follows the same pattern: a Saracen nobleman advances out of his own lines and insults or challenges the Franks. One of the Twelve responds by engaging the Saracen in a joust and killing him. The Franks cry 'Munjoie!'.[154] The only exception to this rule is the Saracen Margariz, who takes the initiative in his combat against Olivier and then returns to call his men forwards, at which point battle is joined. These single combats are echoed later by another series of single combats in which

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[152] Olivier warns the Franks that they must not forget Charles's battle cry: 'L'enseigne Carle n'i devum ublïer' (*Chanson de Roland* 1179).

[153] Ross, 1963, 137, notes that the terrain as it is described in the *Chanson de Roland* (a narrow valley) would make the battle as described in the text impossible. For cavalry to achieve its full potential, it requires spacious, flat and open terrain (Verbruggen, 1995, 205, see also Bennett, 1998, and Morillo, 1999, 46).

[154] The repetition of the various elements in these single combats is particularly striking and was a partial inspiration for Rychner's identification of the use of certain set motifs in the depiction of lance combat; see Rychner (1955). The single combats in Stricker's *Karl* also contain a similar, though more complex, constellation of motifs, as I have noted earlier.

several Saracens each kill one of the Twelve but are then killed themselves (see *Chanson de Roland* 1526-1652).

The first battle in the *Chanson de Roland* divides roughly into three phases: first, the clashes against what almost appear to be Saracen scouts, led by the twelve Saracen noblemen, second, the battle against Marsilie's main force, and, third, the battle against Marganice's reinforcements. The single combats are used symbolically as a means to demonstrate how fate begins to turn against the Franks – at first they are consistently victorious, but after Marsilie's army has entered the fray they begin to suffer losses. The Franks are reduced from 20,000 to 60 by the midpoint of the battle, and the second half is devoted almost entirely to the exploits of Roland, Olivier and Turpin. During the first two phases of the battle, the Saracens advance with lances in the standard manner. However, during the last phase, when there are only a handful of Franks left alive, the Saracens resort to more unusual methods and use missile weapons against them.

As previously noted, Konrad adds a large amount of detail to his depiction of the first battle. In particular, he expands on the preparations and tactics of the Christians faced with the Saracens' advance. On seeing the Saracen army, Roland immediately orders Walther to take 1000 men and guard the hillsides before the Saracens can take advantage of the higher ground (*Rolandslied* 3375-78). The Saracens expect the Christians to be prepared for attack from one direction only, so they divide their army into four parts. However, from his vantage-point on a hill Roland sees that they intend to attack from four sides at once and orders his army accordingly:

> 'ich waiz wole, waz si mainent.
> si wellent uns vierhalben anrenne.
> nu warne wir uns dar engegene.
> lieber geselle Olivier,
> nim du drîe scar zuo dir.
> wol troeste ich mich dîn.
> sam tuo dû, helt Turpîn.
> ich erkenne wol dînen sit.
> nu tuot ir, alsô ich iuch gebit.
> kêret die rücke an ain ander.
> unt lebete der wunderlîche Alexander,
> wolt er dâ durch dringen,
> er mächte lîchte scaden gewinnen.
> Gergers, der hüete mîn,
> der scol hiute mîn nôtgestalle sîn.' (*Rolandslied* 3964-78)

It is not completely clear exactly how Roland intends his army to deploy, but given that the Saracens intend to attack from all four sides, it seems that the Christians are forming a square facing outwards, with Turpin, Olivier, Roland and Gergers respectively commanding each side. Gergers will act as Roland's *nôtgestalle* in that he and his men will defend Roland from attack from behind (i.e. he and his men will form the side of the square parallel to Roland's). Above all, it is crucial that the Christians do not allow their formation to be broken.[155]

It is obvious from the brief description of the deployment of the armies that Konrad's battle differs significantly here from the French version. Konrad's Roland openly plans a defensive battle, choosing his ground and allowing the Saracens to approach him. The deployment he chooses for his army is also a static, primarily defensive formation.

Battle is also joined much sooner in the *Rolandslied* than in the *Chanson de Roland.* After two preliminary single combats, mêlée tactics prevail: the Saracens encircle the Christian formation, as predicted, with lances. Roland himself makes a sortie with support from his men, and the first attack is beaten back.

This first attack is followed by waves of Saracen attacks, each beginning with a single combat between the Saracen leader who corresponds roughly to one of the Saracens from the initial single combats in the *Chanson de Roland* and one of the Christian leaders. Here, however, the combat takes place either just before the Saracen *schar* clashes with the Christian force or as the clash begins. Although Konrad has previously noted that the Saracens have

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[155] This formation has been used throughout military history by infantry to defend against an enemy advance or charge (particularly when performed by cavalry). It is not, however, a tactic used historically by cavalry, as appears to be implied in the *Rolandslied.* The strength of cavalry lies in its mobility; a body of cavalry attempting to maintain a static close-order formation would be unable to brace itself against impact effectively. Konrad may be referring here to a tactic described by Verbruggen in which the defenders dismount and form a hollow square or circle with their horses safely in the centre: 'During one of the battles of the Third Crusade, the Knights Templar were surprised by the enemy. Since they had had plenty of experience of fighting in the East, and were used to fighting in units, they dismounted and drew themselves up in crown formation, in which the men stood back-to-back to repel the enemy attack.' (Verbruggen, 1995, 65). However, there is no mention either in the *Rolandslied* or in *Karl* of any of the combatants *choosing* to fight on foot (except in Stricker's version of the single combat between Karl and Paligan). It should also be noted that the Christians' awareness of the importance of maintaining their formation (as also the Saracens' awareness of the importance of breaking the Christians' formation) supports the view put forward by M. H. Jones among others that medieval warfare was a considerably more skilled affair than was previously thought. See M.H. Jones (1989). This view is supported by Jean de Vignay, *Li livres Flave Vegesce de la chose de la chevalerie*, 53. However, as Bennett observes, '[Vegetius's] general precepts and advice on strategy and tactics are excellent; but he says almost nothing about the use of cavalry. [...] Neither Jean de Meun nor Jean de Vignay make any attempt to adapt Vegetius to the world of the knights' (Bennett, 1998, 177).

divided their army into twelve *scharen*, only eleven are recorded as attacking, and the description becomes confused.[156]

Konrad introduces a variety of details in this phase of the battle which are not present in the *Chanson de Roland*: for example another attempt by the Saracens to break through the Christians' lines (*Rolandslied* 4735-37) and the regrouping and counter-attack launched by Estorgant's *schar* (*Rolandslied* 4937-39). When Hatte's *schar* is endangered by this counter-attack, Alrich of Normandy comes to his aid with a *schar* that has been kept back precisely to be used as reinforcements where needed:

> Alrich von Normandîe
> unt ander gesellen sîne,
> [...]
> wâren gescaffet ze huote,
> swelher scar sîn durft geschæhe,
> daz sie den frum wæren. (*Rolandslied* 4949-56)

The marked increase in depictions of mêlée in the German text, together with Konrad's obvious familiarity with the importance of defensive formations, counter-attacks and breaking the enemy's formation, suggests that he is drawing either on other literary sources, or (less likely) on his own experience, or indeed on both. It is clear that he is not, at all events, following his French model.

Although both Konrad's and Stricker's accounts of the first battle, like the French version, divide roughly into three parts or phases, Stricker alters the structure of his account slightly, emphasising the moment at which the Christians' fortunes begin to turn:

> Nune ist niemen sô guot,
> swie gerne er gotes willen tuot,
> got lâze im doch leit geschehen.
> des mohten dise liute jehen,
> dô si mit willen vâhten
> und aller hartest gâhten:
> dô verhancte got über sie,
> daz in ein teil missegie. (*Karl* 5943-50)

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[156] In the French version too, although it would be most logical to portray each of the Twelve in single combat against a Saracen adversary in turn, in fact only ten of the Twelve are mentioned: Roland, Olivier, Turpin, Gerin, Gerers, Samson, Anseis, Engelers, Gaulter and Berenger. The eleventh single combat is fought by Olivier immediately before battle is joined. Roland's second single combat (against Chernubles) takes place after the two forces have met and does not follow the pattern of the previous encounters (compare *Chanson de Roland* 320-37 and 1188-212); one important difference is that in his second single combat, Roland uses his sword rather than his lance.

Although the Christians do almost immediately recover, in Stricker's version this moment is crucial, conciding with the moment at which the Saracens regroup both in *Karl* and in the *Rolandslied*. Stricker emphasises this yet further by having his Christians also begin to fall back (*Karl* 5956).

As has been demonstrated, like Konrad, Stricker uses depictions of mêlée combat and tactics, and generally these are used to the same extent and with the same effect. However, there are some differences between the two texts. Most interestingly, perhaps, as we have already seen, Stricker does not follow Konrad in his description of the deployment of the Christian and Saracen armies at the start of the battle.

On seeing the approaching Saracen army, Stricker's Roland, like Konrad's, immediately begins to order his defence. He sends Walther to guard against a flank attack and informs his men of the impending attack. However, here Stricker's narrative begins to diverge from Konrad's. Unlike Konrad's, Stricker's Saracens do not divide into four *scharen*.[157] Instead, Falsaron suggests a quite different strategy:

> 'sît wir zwelf guote schar hân,
> die kristen hânt auch zwelf schar,
> lâze wir eine rîten dar
> und merken daz vil rehte:
> als schiere so diu gevehte,
> dar nâch veht aber ein schar.
> rîte wir mit einander dar,
> sô habent sich die kristen
> zesamne durch vristen.
> swaz uns den vordersten geschiht,
> den mugen die hindersten niht
> gehelfen vor gedrenge.
> uns ist diu stat dâ zenge,
> des ist daz scheiden helflich.' (*Karl* 4682-95)

Whilst Konrad's Saracens attempt to encircle the Christians and find themselves at a disadvantage, in *Karl* Falsaron foresees the problems his larger force will face in the narrow valley should they all attack at once, and suggests that the Saracen army remain divided into twelve parts, each attacking in turn, giving the Christians no time to recover. Each Saracen *schar* outnumbers each Christian *schar* so greatly that the plan seems foolproof.

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[157] Stricker does however have Marsilie divide his remaining forces into four *scharen* at a later point in the narrative (*Karl* 6311-18).

Since in *Karl* Roland is not entirely certain what the Saracens intend to do, as noted above, he proposes two alternative tactics. Although Stricker clearly draws on Konrad at this point, as is demonstrated by the reference to Alexander (*Rolandslied* 3974-76, *Karl* 4902-04), neither of tactics suggested in *Karl* corresponds to that used in the *Rolandslied.* Instead of ordering the whole army to form a square, in *Karl* Roland orders each *schar* to take up its own defensive formation, which would be more appropriate, given the constricted space in the valley (Amman, 1901, 102).

The Saracens too, following Falsaron's plan, attack in a slightly different way in *Karl* than in the *Rolandslied*, sending in one *schar* at a time without wasting time on an all-out assault. This enables Stricker to structure the first part of the battle more tightly than Konrad. The first ten engagements in fact contain so many repeated motifs (i.e. Motif C: joust between two leaders, Motif D: cry of 'Munschoy!', Motif K: clash between the two *scharen*, and Motif AC: victory of the Christians) that they are more reminiscent of the style of the initial single combats in the *Chanson de Roland.*

Stricker also, unlike either Konrad or the French narrator, includes single combats between members of the Twelve and all twelve Saracen leaders. Whilst Konrad breaks off his first phase after the tenth Saracen *schar*, Stricker adds the eleventh and twelfth *scharen* led by Margriez and Cernoles, who in Konrad's version are portrayed merely as members of Stalmariz's *schar.* Having disposed of all of the twelve Saracen *scharen*, he introduces Marsilie's army and the second phase of the battle.

It is noticeable that, after Marsilie's army takes the field, the structure of the battle becomes more confused. In all three versions there is more description of mêlée combat and a comparatively smaller incidence of single combats. In this respect, the German versions are mirroring the structure of the battle in the *Chanson de Roland*, where mêlée combat does not begin until shortly before Marsilie arrives.

6.6.2.4 Banners

Although in all three texts Roland's army is numbered at 20,000 men, the changes in tactics and deployment among the three versions appear to imply armies of different sizes. In the *Chanson*

de Roland the Franks are not divided into units but all appear to fight directly under Roland's command, which would be unfeasible for any but a small force. Equally, the lack of defensive tactics at the start of the battle might suggest a small force relying more on speed and agility than on static deployment. In the German versions of the text, the more complex structure of command and the more detailed strategies and tactics imply larger armies, which naturally require greater organisation. Nevertheless, even in the German versions there are few commanders; in *Karl* each of the Twelve is portrayed as being directly responsible for 1550 men, which is clearly unfeasible. If there are further subdivisions in each *schar*, neither Konrad nor Stricker make any reference to them.[158]

Both German versions emphasise a further detail which is not given prominence in the *Chanson de Roland*, the use of banners. These are used by both the Christians and the Saracens, but there is considerably less reference to the Christians' banners. Roland carries his own banner, and at one point in the battle the Christians take up or rejoin their banners after resting:

> ir alle gelîch zuo sînem van
> gâhete nâch ir gewonhaite (*Rolandslied* 5802-3)
>
> si nâmen die vanen unde riten (*Karl* 6864)

The Saracen banners appear more frequently, as they are repeatedly felled by the Christians (this motif appears four times in the *Rolandslied* and eight times in *Karl*). The banner has both a military and a symbolic value, as previously discussed; in this sense, the Saracens' banners have much in common with their idols, which are among the first targets of the Christians (*Rolandslied* 4167-216; *Karl* 5164-222). It is telling that there is no mention of a Christian banner being felled in any of the three versions. Stricker makes noticeably more reference to the Saracens' banners than Konrad, and even includes instances where the banner is felled, then reclaimed, only to be felled once more, in order to emphasise the Christians' success (*Karl* 5443-50).

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[158] It should, however, also be noted that historical accounts of battles do not always describe the full chain of command in detail, even during later periods of history when there is ample evidence that such a chain of command was universally used.

6.6.2.5 Archers

In all three texts, it is also significant that the Saracens, not content with their superior numbers, also resort to the use of missile weapons against the Christians. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the Saracens begin to bring their archers to bear only at the end of the battle, when only Roland, Gualter and Turpin remain alive (*Chanson de Roland* 2074-75a; *Rolandslied* 6588-89; *Karl* 7745-47). The implication in all three texts is that none of the many Saracens remaining dare to approach the three Christians.[159] The effects are deadly: Walther is killed outright and in the French version Turpin is injured. Roland's horse is killed under him and in *Karl* Turpin's horse is also killed.[160] Stricker explains that the two heroes survive under the hail of missiles only because they are sheltered by heaps of Saracen bodies (*Karl* 7964-68).

In the German versions, however, the Saracens bring their archers to bear earlier in the battle as well, and with similar effect. Targis, who leads the seventh *schar* against Ansis, is accompanied by 700 archers in the *Rolandslied* and 1000 in *Karl*. Although all the archers are killed (*Karl* 5767-69) or at least disarmed (*Rolandslied* 4747-49), Ansis loses 308 men compared to the preceding Christian leader, Samson, who loses only 108. Both Konrad and Stricker comment grimly that it is a blessing that all the archers are quickly killed.[161]

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[159] G. F. Jones notes the contempt which the 12th-century knight typically felt for missile weapons, comparing it to the contempt felt by the Japanese for the Americans' use of artillery in the Second World War (G. F. Jones, 1963, 16-17). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was an abiding prejudice against the use of missile weapons (Hatto, 1940; Bradbury, 1985, 1; Ross, 1963, 137), which may explain why archers appear only in the Saracen armies in *Karl*, the *Rolandslied* and *Willehalm*.

[160] Hatto emphasises the vulnerability of horses in particular to missile weapons (Hatto, 1940, 47).

[161] The archers accompanying Targis in the first battle in *Karl* are described as skilled mounted bowmen ('schützemeister', *Karl* 5676-77) using horn or laminated bows. They cause the Christians great damage before being overcome. Archers or light troops are frequently referred to in literature and in historical accounts as 'turkopel' or 'turcopole' (see *Willehalm*, 18,15-23), meaning sons of the Turks. Turkish light cavalry was used in the Crusades by both Christian and Saracen armies (Hatto, 1940, 43), and their principal advantages were their mobility and their archery (Smail, 1995, 80-81, Beeler, 1971, 127). Wolfram refers specifically to the mobility of such mounted archers (*Willehalm*, 18,21-22), see also Palgen, 1920, 200, and Beeler, 1971, 139-40. The bows used by Turkish archers were composite (Bradbury, 1985, 12). The skill and accuracy of Turkish archers was at its peak during the first Mameluke period (1250-1382), but was clearly well-known before this point; see Latham and Paterson, 1970, xxiv. It seems probable that Targis's archers remain with his *schar* during the clash and that they are cut down by Ansis's men at close range where their comparatively light armour puts them at a disadvantage and they are unable to use their bows. On the other hand, this does not agree with the image of Turkish archers as a light, above all mobile force. Verbruggen, however, records the manner in which Richard I's cavalry drove off a contingent of Turkish archers at the battle of Arsuf by launching a sudden, surprise charge that overwhelmed them (Verbruggen, 1995, 234). However, it is not very likely that Stricker would be aware of such details of tactics.

There is nothing to suggest that the Saracens' use of missile weapons at the close of the battle is anything other than sheer opportunism and cowardice (Ross, 1963, 136-7; Bradbury, 1985, 3). Targis's archers in the two German versions, however, are clearly part of a military unit and trained to work together with the other Saracens. The fact that they appear in the two later versions of the story (albeit on the side of the Saracens not of the Christians) suggests that by this point in history, organised units of archers were beginning to appear in armies, probably either turcopoles or sergeants rather than knights (Hatto, 1940, 43; Czerwinski, 1975, 117-18).

6.6.2.6 Marsilie

All three narrators draw a comparison between the two Saracen kings who lead the two armies. Marsilie is timid whilst Paligan/Baligan is courageous, although Marsilie, once in combat, acquits himself fully as well as his brother monarch. This is partly a result of the role that the two Saracen monarchs play; Paligan avenges Marsilie's defeat and injury, which naturally places him in a stronger role.

In both German texts, however, more is made of Marsilie's timidity than in the French version. Whilst in the *Chanson de Roland*, Marsilie enters the fray in person shortly after hearing the appeals of his men, in the *Rolandslied* and *Karl* he is not as eager to become personally involved. In both German texts, Marsilie is appealed to three times for aid, either by one individual Saracen or by his army. His first response to their appeal is to divide his remaining forces and send in reinforcements (*Rolandslied* 5220-23, *Karl* 6301-09) but not to take the field himself. Only after the final appeal does he engage in battle himself.

Once again, Stricker goes further than Konrad in his depiction. Whilst in the *Rolandslied* when Marsilie gives the banner to Grandon he at least announces his intention to hazard his own life ('ich wil selbe den lîp mîn / wâgen unt urtailen' *Rolandslied* 5224-25) there is no mention of such an intention in *Karl*. The impression given in Konrad's version is that Marsilie is by this point prepared to go into battle, whilst in Stricker's version he is not; he intends only to send in reinforcements.

As has previously been noted, in *Karl* Marsilie only makes the final decision to enter the fray in person after Roland has blown his horn and Marsilie realises that the Christians have lost

hope of victory (*Karl* 7264-72). The implication is clearly – and ironically – that Marsilie is not prepared to risk his own life until he is sure that he can do so in reasonable safety.

This is, perhaps, less a case of Stricker adding his own innovation than of Stricker omitting some of Konrad's detail. The language used by Konrad's Marsilie, 'den lîp mîn / wâgen unt urtailen' can be read to suggest that he, like the Christians, views the battle as a means of establishing justice. Konrad's battle, as has frequently been mentioned before, is as much a spiritual conflict as a physical one; Marsilie's words seem to imply that he is just as much aware of this as is Roland.[162] This gives Konrad's Marsilie a stature which Stricker's Marsilie lacks.

Konrad's and Stricker's narratives also diverge in the instance of Marsilie's wounding and flight from the field. In both accounts, his flight is described as *schantlîch*, but whilst in the *Rolandslied* the injured king is helped to flee by his men (*Rolandslied* 6307-16), in *Karl* Marsilie escapes entirely on his own:

> der künec verlôz den zeswen arm
> und lie vil schantlîche
> in sînem eigen rîche
> Ruolande den sic und den strît
> und starp dar nâch in kurzer zît. (*Karl* 7428-32)

Although both Konrad and Stricker describe the Christians as the victors after Marsilie's flight, Stricker emphasises the personal dishonour to Marsilie and the personal victory of Roland. All in all, Stricker's Marsilie is portrayed distinctly less favourably even than Konrad's.

6.6.2.7 The deaths of Olivier and Turpin

The descriptions of the wounding and death of Olivier remain largely the same in all three versions: Olivier is struck by a Saracen with a lance, which transpierces his body. He kills the Saracen (Marganice/Algarich/Algariez) and continues to fight for a short while until his eyesight fails and he is forced to leave the field. Hearing his companions in combat, he attempts

[162] For an interesting discussion of the relationship between the physical and the spiritual battle, see Vallecalle (2000). See also Buschinger, 1996a, 97: 'D'un côté comme de l'autre, la guerre est présentée comme une guerre sainte.'

to help them but accidentally strikes Roland on the helm. He retires again and dismounts, praying before he succumbs to his injury. Although Stricker adds at this point that Olivier's dying body is stabbed by Saracen lances, this is the only substantial addition he makes. It appears both Konrad and Stricker saw Olivier's death, like the death of Roland, as sufficiently central to the narrative as to warrant no alteration.

Turpin's death on the other hand is reworked with much more freedom (Amman, 1901, 109). Not only the type of injuries the bishop suffers but also the manner in which he finally succumbs to them are depicted differently in each text.

Chanson de Roland	*Rolandslied*	*Karl*
2076-80 Turpin is struck by numerous Saracen missiles. His armour and helm are pierced; he receives injuries to the head and body. His horse is killed.	6604-07 Turpin is struck through the helm by a sword and falls from his horse. The Saracens shower him with lances and leave him for dead.	7772-76 Turpin is struck through the helm by a sword and falls from his horse. The Saracens shower him with spears and leave him for dead.
		7844-47 Turpin lies as if dead for a while. A mighty blow has split his head.
2085 Turpin rises to his feet.	6641-42 Turpin raises his sword once more.	7848-53 Covered with blood, Turpin rises to his feet and takes up his sword and shield.
	6643-59 Fatally injured, Turpin continues to fight, killing many Saracens.	7854-55 Turpin continues to fight and kills many Saracens.
		7856-63 Roland fetches a horse and Turpin remounts.
	6660 Turpin is forced to retire briefly.	
2137-45 Turpin and Roland make a stand.	6661-72 Roland fights on; Turpin sees and recovers sufficiently to fight again.	7864-70 Roland and Turpin continue to fight.
	6673-702 Roland blows his horn. Karl and his army respond.	7871-88 Turpin advises Roland to blow his horn; Roland obeys.
		7905-14 The Saracens decide not to flee until Roland is dead.
		7915-42 The Saracens mount a last assault on Roland and Turpin, surrounding Roland.
		7943-68 Turpin comes to Roland's aid and the two fight together until Turpin's horse is killed by Saracen missiles.
		7969-94 Roland blows his horn. Karl and his army blow their horns in response.

Chanson de Roland	*Rolandslied*	*Karl*
2146-65 The Saracens hurl more missiles then flee.	6703-28 The Saracens hurl missiles and then flee.	7995-8001 The Saracens flee.
2169-75 Roland helps Turpin take off his helm and armour and tries to staunch his wounds. He helps him lie down on the grass.	6729-30 Turpin takes off his armour but the effort makes him stumble and fall several times.	8011-17 Turpin asks for help in taking off his armour as he is weakening. Roland unties the lacing and takes his helm off.
		8018-21 Turpin's head falls in two. Only now is it clear that he is fatally wounded.
2176-220 Roland finds the bodies of the Twelve but falls into a faint when he sees Olivier.	6731-52 Roland finds the bodies of the Twelve but falls into a faint when he sees Olivier.	8022-49 Roland finds the bodies of the Twelve.
		8050-71 Turpin asks for water before he dies. Roland is so distressed at the thought that he will have to watch his companion die that he almost faints.
2221-32 Turpin tries to fetch water for Roland but his strength fails and before he has walked a single *arpent* his heart also fails and he dies.	6753-70 Turpin tries to fetch water for Roland but his eyesight fails and everything that is in him falls out.[163] He sits down and then falls dead. Angels accompany his soul to heaven.	8072 Turpin dies.

As usual, both Konrad and Stricker expand considerably on the *Chanson de Roland*, but in this case their innovations are of particular interest. The injuries that Turpin suffers in the French text are not greatly different from those sustained by other characters, and less gruesome than some (compare *Chanson de Roland* 1199-205, 1351-56). However, in both the *Rolandslied* and *Karl* the description of Turpin's injuries and death stands out by virtue of its detail and length. This is particularly the case with Stricker's version.

Although Konrad and Stricker both have Turpin injured fatally by a sword-blow to the head, Stricker makes a series of interesting alterations to the way in which he finally succumbs. In the *Rolandslied* Turpin's injury is immediately described as fatal and he is forced to retreat from the fight as Olivier has done previously (see *Rolandslied* 6660). Roland himself, while surveying the field, sees Turpin lying apparently as dead as Olivier (*Rolandslied* 6665-68). Although Turpin then recovers, he is clearly weakened and it is only his courage that enables

[163] For the meaning of the phrase 'ûz im vielen / al daz in im was' (*Rolandslied* 6760-61) see Kartschoke's note (*Rolandslied*, 'Kommentar', 725)

him to continue to fight ('des twanc in sîn ellen' *Rolandslied* 6672). After Roland has blown his horn and the Saracens have fled, Turpin is afflicted with weakness or dizziness and is barely able to take off his hauberk. Shortly after this, he dies in an attempt to fetch water. In the *Rolandslied* there are 160 lines between Turpin's wounding and his death.

In Stricker's version, Turpin's death follows 300 lines after his injury, an interval almost twice as long as that in the *Rolandslied*. Other points are also significant: neither Turpin nor Roland is aware of the severity of his injury until just before he dies; Turpin is able to continue to fight on horseback and also to converse with Roland without any apparent sign of weakness or confusion. Far from having to withdraw from the fray, as in the *Rolandslied*, Turpin is able even to come to Roland's aid (*Karl* 7943-49). It is only after the Saracens have fled that Turpin begins to feel weak, and only once Roland has removed his helm that the severity of his wound becomes obvious. At this point, Turpin is clearly aware that he is about to die.

Turpin's death is not at all inconsistent with modern medical experience of injuries to the skull. In fact, the deaths of both Turpin and Olivier in *Karl* appear to be completely consonant with the injuries they suffer.[164] Olivier suffers a laceration to the torso which causes severe internal bleeding. His loss of eyesight and disoriented behaviour is caused by the sudden change in pressure inside his body; the natural physiological reaction to this is to channel the body's remaining resources to the vital organs such as the brain and heart, depleting the supply to other organs such as the eyes. One exception to this is hearing; an individual who has lost all other senses and capacity for speech or movement may well still be able to hear clearly. Olivier's collapse is caused by massive loss of blood, confusion and almost certainly considerable pain as the abdominal area contains a large number of nerves.[165]

Turpin's injury, on the other hand, is caused by the weight of the sword-blow to his head, creating a skull fracture through the structure of the helm.[166] This stuns him momentarily but

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[164] The account which follows is based on discussion with an acquaintance who has worked in the Accident and Emergency departments of various hospitals.

[165] Olivier's injury may be compared with stab-wounds caused by bayonets described by Stevenson, 1897, 99-100).

[166] 'Even if helmets and hauberks prevented penetration of [*sic*] laceration by edged weapons, however, haemorrhaging or brain damage was a constant risk' (Strickland, 1996, 173, see also Haferlach, 1991, 27 for a discussion of the prevalence of head injuries in medieval depictions of combat).

once he recovers, unlike Olivier, he probably feels no pain apart from localised pain to the head. Again unlike Olivier, blood-loss is not a large factor in Turpin's death; the death is caused by brain trauma and possible leakage of cerebrospinal fluid. Turpin's helm acts almost as a plaster cast, holding the skull together, and the shock of the blow and consequent adrenaline surge make it possible for him to continue to fight normally for a time. Once the immediate danger has passed (with the Saracens' flight) the level of adrenaline drops and he begins to feel weak. When Roland removes Turpin's helm he alters the pressure inside Turpin's head and the wound bursts open. There is also a possibility that Roland may inadvertently injure Turpin further at this point by forcing fragments of skull into his brain. Turpin relapses into clinical shock and dies as a direct result of having his helm removed. Although Turpin appears (before his helm is removed) to be less seriously injured than Olivier, in fact if the two were to be treated by modern medicine Olivier would be far more likely to survive.[167]

It is possible that the injury Konrad depicts to Turpin's head is of the same type; certainly Stricker does draw on the earlier German version linguistically in this passage. However, it is clear that Stricker has introduced significant new details to the description of Turpin's injury and death. These innovations, as with many others, could be taken from other sources on which Stricker is drawing, or possibly from Stricker's own experience of similar injuries.

6.6.2.8 The result

The question of who wins the battle between Roland and Marsilie is not easy to answer in any of the three texts. In all three versions, although the Christians are all killed the Saracens flee before Roland's death, leaving him technically in possession of the field and therefore technically the victor (see Ailes, 2002, 126). However, the way in which this victory is viewed depends on what the aims of the combatants are in each text.

[167] Cranial injuries in the Middle Ages were treated almost exactly as they had been treated by the Greeks and Romans, these being the principal sources of information and medical procedures for injuries to the skull; see Heuveldop (1938). Different types of injury were noted, but the treatment was either trepanation or less drastic piercing of the skull to relieve the internal pressure. Scholars did not rely solely on the external appearance of the injury to determine its gravity, as what might appear to be a small fracture on the outside might in fact be a much more serious injury internally.

In all three texts, the aim of the Saracens is to kill Roland and the Twelve (*Chanson de Roland* 573-79; *Rolandslied* 1983-91; *Karl* 2710-16) so that the emperor, bereft of his finest knights, will not be able to strike at Marsilie. In this the Saracens partially succeed: Roland and his companions are all killed, although this does not prevent Charles/Karl from returning and conquering Saragossa. Nevertheless, in the process Marsilie himself is mortally wounded and his army obliterated.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, the aim of the rearguard is to protect the rest of Charles's army from attack and to fight bravely so that France is not dishonoured. In this they succeed. However, there is no mention that this could be described as a victory, and Charles's reaction on reaching the field is one of both grief and anger (*Chanson de Roland* 2412-16). There is nothing in his reaction or in that of the Franks to suggest that they view this as anything other than a tragedy.

In the two German versions, on the other hand, the Christians view the outcome of the battle in a more complex light:

> ze dem tôde si sich garten
> unt wâren iedoch guote knechte,
> zuo der marter gerechte,
> der sêle ze wegene. (*Rolandslied* 3408-11)

The attitude of Roland's men is contradictory; they prepare themselves to fight bravely and defend themselves but at the same time they joyfully embrace death and martyrdom. Konrad repeats these motifs throughout his work to such an extent that his Christians cannot *not* win their battle. If they remain alive and kill the Saracens then they have won the victory and also pleased God (*Rolandslied* 3930-35). If on the other hand they are themselves killed, they will be welcomed as martyrs into the Kingdom of Heaven (*Rolandslied* 5960-68). In fact, Konrad portrays the outcome for Roland and the Twelve as an outright success: they have both killed the heathen *and* achieved martyrdom themselves (*Rolandslied* 6719-20; Haas, 1989, 132).

Stricker also takes up the theme of martyrdom and of spiritual victory (*Karl* 4756-61), in several cases repeating Konrad's version almost word for word. As previously noted, he portrays the battle as an example of true Christian courage for his audience. Nevertheless, Stricker does sometimes tone down the religious imagery used by his predecessor (compare

Rolandslied 5799-805 with *Karl* 6863-65), and omits some passages (for instance, *Rolandslied* 4973-92). However, Stricker clearly portrays the battle as a spiritual victory for the Christians and, like Konrad, confirms their physical victory (*Karl* 7428-32; 8002-03).

6.6.3 Points of comparison: the second battle

During the course of the first battle there are several events which play a crucial role in the unfolding of the narrative (not least the wounding of Marsilie and the deaths of the Twelve). The second battle, in contrast, is comparatively less important to the course of the account, for various reasons. First, from the historical account of the events at Ronceval, the second battle never actually took place. Second, and arising from the first reason, the second battle merely serves the function of underscoring the spiritual, if not physical, victory of the Christians over the Saracens achieved by Roland and his men. Third, the second battle is simply less dramatic than the first. The first battle contains strong elements of dramatic tension, even of tragedy, which are heightened by the clear foreshadowing of Roland's death, especially in the foreboding felt by Karl/Charles.[168] When Stricker describes the point at which the first of the Twelve is killed, the narrator's tone verges on the epic:

> nune wart der strît niht mêre
> dewederhalp gelenget.
> den rossen wart gehenget.
> diu wurden alsô dar getriben,
> daz diu erde muose biben,
> dô hundert tûsent ravît
> wol geladen in den strît
> mit kraft begunden gâhen.
> daz die heiden [wol] sâhen
> beidiu ir tôten unde ir bluot
> des wart ir herze unde ir muot
> in zornes krefte begraben.
> dâ wart ein michel strît erhaben.
> der êrste der dâ tôt beleip,
> dô man diu ros zesamene treip,
> daz was der herzoge Samsôn. (*Karl* 6354-69)

The second battle is a foregone conclusion; it is the Christians' act of vengeance for the loss of Roland and the Twelve as well as the underlining of the motif that God fights for the righteous.

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[168] In the *Chanson de Roland* in particular, the narrator uses repeated phrases describing the location of the two battles to set their tone. The first, 'Halt sunt li pui, e li val tenebrus', in its description of a dark, narrow pass, evokes a sense of constriction and foreboding, whilst the second, 'Grant est la plaigne, e large la cuntree', evokes the exact opposite. Ailes notes that a 'sense of the inevitable' pervades the whole text (Ailes, 2002, 81; see also Heinemann, 1973, 27; Schmitz, 1977, 49).

There is never any doubt that Charles/Karl will triumph, although Paligan is depicted in all three versions as a more formidable adversary than Marsilie; thus, the second battle is simply an opportunity for the narrator to display his skills in the depiction of combat. These points may explain why the three texts diverge so greatly in the depiction of the second battle. Whilst the first battle contains much information which is vital to the Roland tradition, the second is more of a set-piece, and hence more interesting from the point of view of a study of mêlée combat.

6.6.3.1 Challenge and counter-challenge

In all three versions, the second battle is introduced by a verbal encounter between Charles/Karl and the Saracen messengers who deliver Paligan's challenge. In the *Chanson de Roland*, Baligant's messengers have only a brief message, in which they warn Charles that battle is upon him (*Chanson de Roland* 2974-81) and to which Charles makes no response. This is extended slightly in Konrad's version: the messengers offer an alternative to battle (*Rolandslied* 7630-36). Stricker makes the offer even plainer: 'ir sult im wesen undertân / und sult im iwern zins geben / beidiu über guot und über leben' (*Karl* 8964-66). In both versions, as might be expected, Karl refuses the offer (*Rolandslied* 7651-76; *Karl* 8979-9012).

This exchange in *Karl*, as noted above, echoes the verbal encounters which frequently appear at the beginning of the single combats in the first battle (compare *Karl* 5255-70). These usually only feature threats from the Saracen protagonist and taunts from the Christian after he has dispatched his adversary, but on some occasions the Saracens, as above, offer riches or lands if the Christian surrenders (*Karl* 5255-65). This motif is also to be found in the *Rolandslied*. In the second battle, however, largely because there are almost no single combats, the motif appears only once, during the single combat between Karl and Paligan (*Rolandslied* 8476-77; *Karl* 10187-90).

The motif of the challenge/offer of riches in exchange for surrender is used in the second battle in the two German versions to focus the audience's attention on the figures of Karl and Paligan from the very beginning of the battle. Much more than the first battle, the second battle focuses on the single combat between the two leaders (in both versions, this is by far the longest single combat in either battle) and the issuing of a personal challenge to Karl at the start of the

battle emphasises this fact. The second battle in both the *Rolandslied* and *Karl* is in fact secondary to – one might even say an adjunct to – the climactic single combat.[169]

6.6.3.2 Tactics and structure

There is little description of general tactics or strategy on either side in any of the three versions of the second battle. The Christians and the Saracens order their armies and decide on the order of precedence among their leaders. However, in the two German versions Paligan has a Syrian spy placed in Karl's army who reports on the disposition of the Christians (*Rolandslied* 7947-84; *Karl* 9391-422). The comparative lack of tactical planning in all three versions of the second battle is due largely to the fact that this is to be a pitched battle in which both sides (and the audience) can generally anticipate what will occur. However, the structure of the battle that follows differs in each of the three texts.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, the second battle is structured in a similar way to the first, but with a few more depictions of mêlée: there is a first joust between the front *escheles*, then two single combats, then more brief mêlée combat. During the main battle that follows, both armies use their lances, then their swords, and then the text settles down into a characteristic series of seven single combats. Finally, Baligant takes the field himself and faces Charles. Although much briefer, the second battle in the *Chanson de Roland* mirrors the first in many ways.

As with the first battle, both German versions expand greatly on the French original. Both seem to suggest, as does the *Chanson de Roland*, that there is a preliminary stage to the battle before the two forces join in earnest. However, Konrad seems to make less of this preliminary stage than either the French narrator or Stricker. In the *Rolandslied* Paligan's son Malprimes is granted permission to lead the Saracen forces (*Rolandslied* 8017-21). However, once the battle begins there is no clear demarcation between a small-scale first engagement and the following general mêlée, and Malprimes barely appears at all. Instead, the narrative plunges immediately

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[169] Challenges to battle (distinct from challenges to the battle of champions) appear to have been issued in the Middle Ages: they were among several elements of private warfare prohibited by the Norman *Consuetudines et judicie* in 1091. Challenges also had a formal, almost judicial nature: '[I]n a judicial sense, the challenge was a form of summons closely analogous to that for the wager of ordeal by battle' (Strickland, 1998, 319-20). However, such challenges were often designed to forestall battle, rather than to provoke it as is clearly the case in *Karl*.

into a full-blown description of mêlée combat in which all the named Christians seem to be involved (*Rolandslied* 8187-98) together with their *scharen*. There is no one point at which both armies advance and battle is joined (compare *Chanson de Roland* 3379-82 and *Karl* 9755-65).

Stricker, on the other hand, depicts the preliminary stage of the battle with considerably more clarity; once the two armies have approached to the correct distance the two forces advance ready for the preliminary clash:

> nu wârens enander sô bî,
> daz si iezuo sprengen wolten,
> die dâ vorvehten solten. (*Karl* 9684-86)

Stricker names not only Paligan's son but on the Christian side also the Swabians as the first to engage the enemy, led by Gerolt (who appears neither in the *Chanson de Roland* nor in the *Rolandslied*).[170] There is an inconclusive single combat between Gerolt and Malprimes, then a brief description of mêlée combat. Only once the Saracens send out a second *schar* to support Malprimes does Karl's *schar* also advance to help Gerolt; at this point the rest of the Christian army also advances and the Saracen army follows suit. In *Karl*, as in the *Chanson de Roland*, there is a clear distinction between the preliminary clashes and the general battle.

Stricker differs from Konrad to an extent in his depiction of the tactics used by the Saracens and Christians once battle is joined. Once the smaller Christian force has committed itself to its charge, the Saracens' eighteen *scharen* advance and encircle the Christians (*Karl* 9760-65), attacking from all sides at once. As in Konrad's version of the first battle, the Christians' immediate response is to halt and turn outwards to face the Saracens (*Karl* 9766-68). The Christians also maintain such a good defence that the Saracens are unable to break their line (*Karl* 9778-79).[171]

The battle continues with the Saracens attempting to break through the Christians' line and with descriptions of each of the Christian *scharen* and their leaders in battle, until the first eighteen Saracen *scharen*, led by Paligan's son, have been defeated. At one point, the Bavarian *schar* is in danger of being forced back but is reinforced in time by Naymis (*Karl* 9916-37) and

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[170] Schnell, 1974, 76-77, suggests possible reasons for the prominence given to the Swabians in *Karl*.
[171] As in *Rolandslied* 3964-78, there is no suggestion that the Christians dismount (see footnote 155).

then by Karl himself, who, although hindered by the press, is able to save both Naymis and his men (*Karl* 9938-82).

Although Konrad also depicts the various Christian *scharen* in battle, his battle is structured rather differently. There is little sense of the two forces acting collectively. Instead of being surrounded and fighting in lines, his Christian army appears to be using more fragmentary tactics, with a series of *scharen* advancing individually (compare *Rolandslied* 8239-54, 8255-76, 8285-324). Richart and Antel's *scharen* are involved in fierce combat, but Naimes's *schar* achieves the all-important breaking of the Saracens' formation (*Rolandslied* 8311-13), before it is attacked by Malprimes (at which point Konrad's and Stricker's texts converge briefly once more, particularly in the description of Naimes's/Naymis's single combat and rescue by Karl). This depiction of a series of encounters between *scharen* again harks back to the style of depiction of the first battle.

Stricker and Konrad diverge again at the point at which a Saracen returns to Paligan with the news of his son's death. In the *Rolandslied*, the battle is continuing as the messenger speaks (*Rolandslied* 8355-72), whilst in *Karl* the situation for the Saracens is considerably grimmer (*Karl* 10014-18). In this case, it is Stricker who is harking back to the depiction of the first battle, in which the motif of all Saracens being killed except one (Motif Y) is used repeatedly. However, both Stricker and Konrad agree on the advice Paligan is given on how to continue the battle: he must take the field himself in order to inspire his men. In both texts too, Paligan and his advisers have considerable respect for the Christians and (in contrast to the overconfidence of Marsilie's army) do not expect an easy battle:

> 'ich wæne, der christen nît
> uns vil harte gewerre' (*Rolandslied* 8394-95)
>
> 'ich fürhte der kristen nît
> noch hiute harte sêre' (*Karl* 10054-55, see also 9418-22).

Although in both texts also Paligan is determined to face and defeat Karl in person, here again the two German versions diverge. In the *Rolandslied* there is little delay; the Saracens advance, led by the banner-bearer Amhoch, and encircle the Christians; Karl sees them and prays for the sun not to set until he has avenged Roland; he and Paligan catch sight of one another and 'dô waz ez ungescaiden' (*Rolandslied* 8438).

Stricker again takes the opportunity to introduce more detail. Paligan himself leads his army and gives commands to his men to follow the tactics he has devised:

> 'swie sich Karl mit listen wer,
> ich briche hiute durch sîn her
> sô dicke her unde hin,
> daz wir ze jungest under in
> deheinen lebendigen sehen.' (*Karl* 10069-73)

Again making use of the mobility of cavalry, Paligan intends to destroy the Christians' formation and put them into disarray. This is to be achieved by breaking through the Christians' formation, turning round and then charging back from the opposite direction, giving the Christians little time to regain order (Czerwinski, 1975, 123-25).[172] After having decided on his tactics, Paligan sends out scouts to find Karl's exact position and rides out towards him. In another added detail, Stricker has the Saracen monarch also promise to kill Rapote, who carries Olifant, a promise which he fulfils before engaging in the climactic single combat with Karl himself.[173] After the single combat and the death of Baligant/Paligan, the outcome of the battle is the same in all three versions: the Saracens are routed and cut down.

6.6.3.3 The emperor's beard

In all three texts, Charles/Karl performs a very strange action before taking the field:

> Mult gentement li emperere chevalchet,
> Desur sa bronie fors ad mise sa barbe (*Chanson de Roland* 3121-22)

The emperor's white beard is frequently named as a distinguishing characteristic both by the narrator (*Chanson de Roland* 117, *Rolandslied* 1154-56) and by the Saracens (*Karl* 6280). It appears that the emperor is using his beard as an unorthodox means of identifying himself on the field. This is a gesture of defiance towards the enemy, as well as a sign that he is heedless of old age (Brault, 1978, 292). However, in the *Chanson de Roland* all of the Franks, seeing Charles's gesture, follow suit (*Chanson de Roland* 3123-24). Their intention appears to be both

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[172] This tactic was also known in later eras. Compare Nolan, 1853, 279.

[173] Both Stricker and Konrad note the effect that the sound of Roland's horn has on Paligan. In both versions, the Saracen monarch is enraged by the sound of Olifant, although it is only in *Karl* that he kills bearer of the horn. Neither German version picks up on one detail in the *Chanson de Roland* in which Baligant himself has a horn which he blows to devastating effect (*Chanson de Roland* 3520-30). Stricker twice uses the motif of the horn whose sound renders those present almost insensible (compare *Karl* 7096-101; 9471-74), but attributes this effect to the sound of Roland's horn instead.

to echo his gesture in order to demonstrate their loyalty to him and perhaps also to defend him by making it less possible for the Saracens to recognise him. Interestingly, when Baligant himself joins the fray in the French text, he also pulls his beard out over his armour (*Chanson de Roland* 3520-21).

In the *Rolandslied*, however, the display of the beard has a rather different significance. When the Karlingen (Karl's own men) hear the sound of Roland's horn they begin to weep and Karl orders them to pull their beards out over their armour as a sign (*Rolandslied* 7936-46). Rather than a personal display on Karl's part, in this text the gesture is one of solidarity among Karl's own *schar*, the most bereaved by the death of Roland. Unsurprisingly, the gesture is not echoed by Paligan in the *Rolandslied*; Konrad avoids any suggestion that Paligan might resemble Karl.

Stricker again alters the significance of Karl's gesture and of his men's response. As the Kerlingen weep for Roland, Karl has his beard pulled out through his mail and asks his men how well this suits him (*Karl* 9382-85). They are so impressed with the gesture that they all follow suit and this becomes tradition among the Kerlingen (*Karl* 9386-89).[174] Karl's intention here appears however not so much to be to inspire solidarity in his men as to distract them from their grief:

> dô weinten Ruolanden
> alle die von Kerlingen.
> dô lie sîn ros springen
> Karl der tugentrîche
> mit fröuden ritterlîche.
> durch ir liebe daz getân wart.
> er hiez im ziehen sînen bart
> durch des halsperges ringe
> und frâgte die Kerlinge,
> wie im daz zeichen zæme. (*Karl* 9376-85)

As in Konrad's version there is no mention of Paligan echoing the gesture.

It is interesting that whilst in the *Chanson de Roland* the majority of the army follows Charles's lead in displaying their beards,[175] in the German versions the gesture is confined to Karl and to his own men. This can perhaps be linked to the fact that the German versions place

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[174] This gesture enables Karl and his men to identify the fallen Christians after the conclusion of the battle (*Karl* 10457-62).

[175] 'Cent milie Francs en sunt reconoisable' (*Chanson de Roland* 3214). In line 3000, the size of the Frankish army is set at 'plus de cent milie'.

much more importance on the origins of Karl's army than does the French text (Schnell, 1974, 62-74). In the *Chanson de Roland*, although we are told that Charles's army includes *escheles* from Germany, Bavaria, Denmark and Normandy among others, as well as men from France itself (*Chanson de Roland* 3026-95), the collective term for the entire army is 'Franceis' or 'cil de France'.[176] In the German versions, however, as previously mentioned, the force which unites Karl's army is not regional identity but religion; the army is made up of 'cristen'. As such, one might assume that although the army would be united in grief for the loss of a fellow-Christian, those who shared his origins would feel the loss most deeply.

6.6.4 Summary of comparisons

It is clear from the comparison above not only that the battle depictions in the two German versions differ greatly from those in the *Chanson de Roland* but also that there are clear differences between the two German versions themselves. These, although not as marked, are of more interest for the study of Stricker's own depiction of combat and warfare. Some of these differences (for instance, the way in which Stricker often tightens up the structure of his narrative) can be explained simply as stylistic elements. However, some of Stricker's alterations and additions (the tactics of the Christians and Saracens at the beginning of the first battle, for example) clearly have more than merely a stylistic purpose.

It is true that the alterations Stricker makes in his version do not substantially alter the tone and the course of the narrative. The ethos of the 'Holy War', for example, remains present in *Karl* as in the *Rolandslied*, although subtly toned down. However, the very fact that Stricker follows his source so faithfully in general makes those instances where he does deviate from it all the more striking. It is particularly interesting that Stricker adds more detail in the area of tactics, particularly in the description of mêlée combat between *scharen*, detail which generally agrees with that found in historical depictions of battle and tournament. Below is a brief summary of the most interesting alterations from a martial point of view:

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[176] Bieling, 1936, 39, notes the 'Frankish imperialism' and patriotism which pervades the *Chanson de Roland*.

First battle
- The deployment and strategy of the Christians and Saracens;
- the direct correlation between Roland's confidence and its effect on his men and the Saracens;
- repeated instances of the Christians breaking through the Saracen lines;
- repeated instances of the Saracens attempting to break through the Christian lines (both battles);
- the significance and felling of Saracen banners;
- the moment at which the Christians' luck begins to turn;
- the physical fatigue felt by the Christians;
- Marsilie's reaction on hearing Roland blowing his horn;
- Turpin's death.

Second battle
- the Saracens' tactic of encircling the Christians and the Christians' response;
- Paligan's intended tactics of breaking repeatedly through the Christian lines (back and forth);
- Paligan's use of scouts to find Karl on the field.

The majority of these alterations or additions are related to the tactics, strategy and deployment of the *scharen*, whether Christian or Saracen, and in particular to the importance of maintaining formation in combat. Some relate instead to the role of the commander of an army, or to physical fatigue, or to the difficulty of actually finding an individual in the midst of close-quarter mêlée. Finally, Stricker also makes a significant alteration in the description of a fatal injury.

In many of these instances, Stricker is adding fundamental elements of the depiction of battle which are simply not to be found in the earlier German version. In other cases, he is emphasising points to which Konrad attaches comparatively little importance, such as the tactic of breaking through the enemy's line or formation. Given the fact that the *Chanson de Roland* features relatively little depiction of mêlée, it is highly unlikely that Stricker is drawing on the French source.[177] It seems evident, then, that Stricker is drawing on other sources, whether literary, historical or of his own experience, in order to produce what is a significantly more detailed depiction of battle.

Since to our current knowledge Stricker was not himself a knight, it appears unlikely that he is drawing on his own first-hand experience. However, it is entirely possible, as previously suggested, that Stricker was a spectator at tournaments and judicial combats, and that this provided him with material. It is also probable, given that Stricker was clearly a well-educated and widely read man, that he is influenced by other written sources in his depictions of battle.

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[177] Although the author of the *Chanson de Roland* was clearly aware of the importance of maintaining cohesion in melée combat (*Chanson de Roland* 1176-79).

6.7 Comparison with *Willehalm*

Aside from the *Rolandslied*, the work which most readily comes into consideration as a possible literary influence on the depiction of the battles in Stricker's *Karl* is Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*.[178] There are numerous similarities between the two texts: among others, both describe battles between Christians and Saracens, both depict battles in which the Christians are first defeated, then avenge their defeat, and both provide detailed description of mêlée combat.[179]

Furthermore, Wolfram consciously connects his text with the Roland tradition, both by direct allusion to the events of Roncevals and by reference to the fact that his characters are the descendants of those who fought in the earlier battles. It has been established that Wolfram knew Konrad's *Rolandslied* (Schnell, 1974, 57; Palgen, 1920, 191-222; Bumke, 1959, 117-24, Wolf, 1975, 253, footnote 39). Nevertheless, although there are indeed common elements such as the repeated reference to the Christian battle-cry 'Monschoy', in general the style and the structure of Wolfram's battles differ noticeably from those in *Karl* or in the *Rolandslied*.

6.7.1 Points of comparison

6.7.1.1 Structure

One of the principal ways in which Stricker's battle depictions differ from those in the *Rolandslied* is their clear and tidy structure. In Wolfram's *Willehalm* battles are anything but 'tidy'; indeed, in the second battle it is difficult to follow the sequence of events. While in *Karl* the battles are composed of a series of engagements depicted in strict chronological order, in *Willehalm* it is often apparent that the battles are made up of several actions being fought at the same time, between different parts of the two opposing armies (see Steinhoff, 1964, 25-32). The ethos of Wolfram's text also differs considerably from that of Stricker or of Konrad; in

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[178] The battles in *Willehalm* are regarded as some of the most detailed and 'realistic' in medieval German literature (see Schäfer-Maulbetsch, 1972, 135-6). Kühnemann (1972) examines the theory that the *Willehalm* battles were inspired partly by Lampert von Hersfeld's *Annalen*.

[179] See Delagneau (1985) for a discussion of the parallels between *Karl* and *Willehalm*; see also Palgen,. 1920, 191-222 and Schnell, 1974, 57 for discussion of similarities between the prologues of the two works in particular.

Willehalm the themes of kinship and marriage between two opposing groups are as important as the ethos of the Crusades.[180]

In *Willehalm*, as in *Karl*, there are two battles, the first a disaster for the Christians, the second a triumph. However, where Stricker emphasises the first, disastrous battle, Wolfram chooses to devote his attention rather to the second, making it almost twice as long as the first. The balance between mêlée and single combat is also different; there are far fewer single combats in *Willehalm* than in *Karl*. The style of Wolfram's battle depictions also differs considerably from those in *Karl*. Stricker relies to a large extent on the repetition of set motifs, often using the same or similar linguistic formulae to express them, whereas Wolfram makes much less use of such repetition. As a result, in *Willehalm*, there are many more possible outcomes not only to each engagement between *scharen* but also to each single combat. Wolfram has chosen largely to abandon the stylised descriptions of battle found in the *Chanson de Roland* (as also in Wolfram's own French source, *Aliscans*), whereas Stricker and Konrad have not. The impression given is that Wolfram, the knight, is drawing on other sources than *Aliscans*, possibly his own experiences of battle, an impression which is strengthened when we turn to a more detailed comparison of the battle depictions in *Willehalm* and in *Karl*.

6.7.1.2 Numbers and losses

In *Willehalm*, as in *Karl*, the Christian armies are heavily outnumbered by the Saracens, whose army is described as unbelievably vast (compare *Karl* 4275-80, *Willehalm* 10,8-12). The Saracens are confident that this gives them the advantage, as indeed it does (*Karl* 9444-48, *Willehalm* 28,10-15). In *Karl*, this confidence is shown to be misplaced. In *Willehalm*, however, although in the first battle Halzebier in particular loses many men (*Willehalm* 27,18-21) and there are casualties among the named Saracens, they overcome the Christians without catastrophic losses.

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[180] The Crusading theme in *Willehalm* is discussed by M.H. Jones (2003). Various details, including the taking of the cross (*Willehalm* 304,19, 27-28; 321,25-27), suggest that Wolfram was referring specifically to the Crusading movement(see also Humphreys, 1999; Greenfield and Miklautsch, 1998, 180-81).

Some of the Saracen casualties are either only lightly armoured or unarmoured (*Willehalm* 20, 13-26), wearing turbans instead of helms and without shields. In the mêlée this is clearly a great disadvantage, although they fight bravely. Stricker does not describe unarmoured Saracens in *Karl*, nor is any differentiation between the Christians' and Saracens' armour to be found in the *Rolandslied*.

In the second battle, although the Saracen army is defeated it is not annihilated; the Saracens retreat piecemeal and many of them are able to escape by ship, justifying the Saracens' confidence in their numerical advantage. The losses suffered by the Christians in the second battle are also considerable (*Willehalm* 445,14-19). In other words, the result of the first battle in *Willehalm* is much more decisive than that of Stricker's first battle, but the result of the second battle in *Willehalm* is much less clear-cut than its equivalent in *Karl*.

6.7.1.3 Ethos

Although Wolfram like Stricker gives detailed descriptions of the Saracens' finery, he does not imply, as Stricker does, that this demonstrates their pride and vanity; instead he describes them neutrally or sympathetically as 'Minneritter'. In addition, the Saracens who play an important part in the narrative (mainly Gyburc's family) are portrayed in more detail than in *Karl* and more positively. The conflict between religions is certainly an issue in *Willehalm* – Terramer intends to conquer Rome and the Christian empire (*Willehalm* 338,15-339,1), the Christians take the cross before the second battle (*Willehalm* 304,17-19, see *Rolandslied* 3332-33), and the description of Heimrich wearing the cross is strikingly reminiscent of the description of Roland in the *Rolandslied* (*Rolandslied* 3332-33, *Willehalm* 406,17-407,7). Nevertheless, the concept of the Holy War does not play as straightforward a role in *Willehalm* as it does in the *Rolandslied* and *Karl* (Haas, 1993, 177; Bonath, 1987, 114-15).

6.7.1.4 Composition of the armies

The composition and the disposition of the Saracen armies in *Karl* and *Willehalm* are very similar; in both cases they are divided into a number of *scharen*. The Christian army in the second battle, for example, is divided into five *scharen* (*Willehalm* 328,9-329,30), which are

later joined by the sixth, led by Rennewart. Wolfram however suggests that each Saracen *schar* is itself divided up into smaller groups, referred to as *rotten*, *sunderrotten*, *storjen*, *poynder* or *puneiz* (Pütz, 1971, 125-30).

In both texts the Saracen armies are clearly made up of several forces from different geographical regions. This is obvious in *Karl* principally in the first battle where a succession of Saracen kings and other noblemen face the Christians in turn. In *Willehalm* Wolfram emphasises the point:

> man mohte ietwederhalben sîn,
> dar zuo vor im und hinden,
> vil grôzer storje vinden,
> mit der sprâche ein ander gar unkunt.
> dâ fuor manec sundermunt,
> der niht wesse waz der ander sprach (*Willehalm* 399,24-29)

In contrast to the Christians, who in both texts are clearly united, the Saracen armies in both texts are made up of disparate groups owing allegiance to their individual leaders, although admittedly Paligan's army in *Karl* is more unified. Wolfram emphasises this disparity further by having several Saracen leaders discontented with their placing within the army (for example see Poidwiz's comment, *Willehalm* 390,9-27).[181] Their complaints suggest that they are fighting as much to gain personal honour as to aid Terramer.

6.7.1.5 Tactics and strategy

The overall strategy and tactics of the Saracens (as indeed of the Christians) are also similar in both texts, focusing as they do on the primary function of medieval cavalry, the charge with couched lance (see Barber and Barker, 1989, 14, also Bumke, 2002, 353). Wolfram emphasises the role of the lance by repeated reference to the breaking of lances, often using metaphor (for example *Willehalm* 370, 16-19). The aim of the charge is to break completely through the enemy's formation, wheel and then charge back through (see the quotation from *Karl* below), but this is not always possible. Another tactic of the Saracens which is common to both texts is to encircle the Christians with their superior numbers, both crushing the Christians together and

[181] Arguments about which unit takes priority in battle seem to have occurred frequently. Joinville records a disagreement between a unit of Templars and the forces led by the count of Artois while fighting the Turks; the Templars were angered when the count attacked the Turks before the Templars could close with them, although the Templars had priority (*La vie de Saint Louis*, § 218-9).

closing off any hope of escape. The Christians also use this tactic on occasion. Both authors refer to the great press which is the result of such mêlée combat (*Karl* 9946, *Willehalm* 391,13-21).

The principal aim of the Saracens in both battles is to break up the formation of the Christians (and vice versa):

> 'ich briche hiute durch sîn her
> sô dicke her unde hin
> daz wir ze jungest under in
> deheinen lebendigen sehen' (Paligan, *Karl* 10070-73)

In *Willehalm*, however, this tactic is not merely important, but crucial to the outcome of both battles. In the first battle, the Christians are finally defeated when their formation, compromised by Josweiz, Arofel and Halzebier, is finally broken completely by Terramer's charge (*Willehalm* 33,27-34,3; 39,1-5). In the second battle, on the other hand, the six Christian *scharen* are separated by the force of numbers on the Saracen side but instead of breaking they reform into six smaller defensive formations (*Willehalm* 405,3-18).

These defensive formations do not correspond to the six *scharen* into which the Christian army is originally divided. Wolfram specifically states that the six groups formed are of greatly varying size; he adds that many Christians are separated from their own *scharen* and join the nearest Christian banner (*Willehalm* 405,12-18). This point is of particular interest when compared to the Rule of the Templars.[182] The possibility of splitting the army during battle through necessity rather than by design is not present in *Karl*.

Wolfram further states that the Christians are aided in their regrouping by the fact that they have the same battle-cries (*Willehalm* 405,19, Pütz, 1971, 122-23). Both Wolfram and Stricker clearly recognise the importance (or at least the common usage) of battle-cries. In *Karl* the cry of 'Munschoy!' is one of the motifs which are repeated throughout the first battle. Again, however, Wolfram goes into more detail than Stricker; in the second battle in *Willehalm* each Christian *schar* has its own battle-cry ('Narbon', 'Brubant', 'Rennewart', 'Tandarnas', 'Berbester' and 'Munschoie'; see *Willehalm* 329,1-33,8) which enables the *scharen* to recognise

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[182] Verbruggen, 1995, 89: 'The Rule of the Templars stated explicitly that a knight who was cut off from returning to his own banner in battle had to continue the fight under the first Christian banner he came to.' See also Pütz, 1971, 120-22, 141-42.

each other not only as Christians but as individual forces within the Christian army. These cries are used throughout the second battle until the Christians' victory is assured. Once it is no longer essential to maintain strict formation many Christians instead begin to use their own battle-cries, usually the name of their home-town or land (*Willehalm* 437,1-19), less to maintain order than to express their triumph (Pütz, 1971, 143).

The fact that Wolfram's Christians are able to maintain their formation is implicitly the turning-point of the second battle. The Saracens use the same tactics as in the first battle, sending in waves of *scharen* with Terramer's force held in reserve to deal the killing blow. When the Christians are able not only to withstand this but eventually also to close ranks once more, the Saracens begin to lose heart. The final blow to the Saracens' morale comes when Bernart fells Terramer's banner (*Willehalm* 432,29-433,9).

6.7.1.6 Banners

Both Stricker and Wolfram clearly understand the importance of banners on the battlefield. In both texts, Christian triumph is marked by the felling of the Saracen banner or banners, while their own banners remain flying (*Willehalm* 433,6-23). Once again, however, Wolfram adds more detail:

> von Salenîe Ektor
> fuorte den vanen hôhe enbor;
> obs die getouften gerten,
> daz sin doch mit den swerten
> mohten niht erlangen.
> mit stählînen spangen
> was der schaft vast umbeworht. (*Willehalm* 401,19-25)[183]

The fact that the banners are often attacked is obvious from Wolfram's later description of the Christian banners as tattered and torn (*Willehalm* 440,23-25).

6.7.1.7 Archers

In addition to the tactics of encircling and breaking formation mentioned above, both Stricker and Wolfram mention the use of archers in the Saracen armies. In *Karl*, the battalion of Saracen

[183] The Rule of the Templars states that, in order to preserve the banner, the knight who carries it may not use the lance to which the banner is attached, even in self-defence (Verbruggen, 1995, 90; Pütz, 1971, 120-22, 141-42).

archers cause many casualties in Ansis's *schar*, and Roland and his surviving comrades are pinned down by arrows at the end of the battle. Wolfram gives some details about the tactics of the Saracen archers in *Willehalm*, as well as how they are viewed by the Christians. The first battle is opened by the *turkopel*, who rely on their mobility as they 'snipe' at the Christians (*Willehalm* 18,15-23). Before the second battle, the deserters cite the enemy archers as a reason for abandoning the fight (*Willehalm* 321,16-23; 323,30-324,7), There is no hint that the Saracens are resorting to the use of missile weapons because they are afraid of the Christians, as in *Karl*; the archers are simply portrayed as part of the regular Saracen army.

6.7.1.8 *tjostiure*

Although both Stricker and Wolfram note the existence of a single Christian *schar* which is given the honour in both texts of beginning the second battle, Wolfram's description of the composition of this *schar* and of its purpose differs considerably from Stricker's. Whereas in *Karl* the first engagement between Malprimes and Gerolt leads directly into the battle itself, in *Willehalm* there is a brief separate encounter between the first *schar* (led by Heimrich le schetis and Schilbert) and a small number of Saracen knights before the two main forces clash in earnest. Moreover, Heimrich's force is reinforced by a number of knights drawn from the other five Christian scharen, referred to as 'tjostiure' (Willehalm 362,1-7). It appears that this joust between picked knights, unlike the opening engagement of the second battle in *Karl*, forms 'a place for individual action' (M. H. Jones, 1989, 440) before the main battle begins. Since many of the knights taking part in this *tjost* are unnamed, Jones suggests that this detail may mirror actual battlefield practices, as well as poetic conventions (M. H. Jones, 1989, 441).[184]

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[184] Barber and Barker give the example of King Stephen of England, who, on confronting the knights of Robert, earl of Gloucester in 1141, began the battle by performing a 'joust (justam)'. Unfortunately, the earl of Gloucester was uninterested in the niceties of the 'justam' and began the battle in earnest; see Barber & Barker (1989), 18; see also M. H. Jones, 1989, 440-41 and Strickland, 1998, 386. This 'justam' appears to be remarkably similar to the *vorstrît* or *vorvehten* as described by Czerwinski among others (Czerwinski, 1975, 194-96), and as it appears in *Willehalm*.

6.7.1.9 Captives and ransom

Elements of the mêlée combat in *Willehalm* which are conspicuously absent in *Karl*, on the other hand, include the taking of captives and the willingness of the surviving Christians at the end of the first battle to quit the field. Willehalm, like Roland, is left at the end of the battle with a mere handful of companions, but where Roland, Turpin and Olivier continue to fight until their last breath, Willehalm is prepared to flee. Wolfram emphasises the similarity of their situation by a direct reference to the battle of Ronceval:

> 'dem keiser Karl wær ze vil
> dirre flüste zeinem mâle.
> die er tet ze Runzevâle
> unde in anderen stürmen sînen,
> diene möhten gein den mînen
> ame schaden niht gewegen.' (*Willehalm* 51,12-17)

However, the situation is different in that whilst in *Karl* Roland has already blown his horn to alert the emperor to his plight, in *Willehalm* the emperor Ludwig is not even aware that the battle has taken place, and Willehalm must inform him.

The willingness of both the Saracens and the Christians in *Willehalm* to take captives in battle, however, can be traced back to the ethos of Wolfram's text. In *Karl*, although offers of mercy are made by the Saracens, these are implicit demands for the Christians to abjure their faith and are always rejected (*Karl* 10167-237). Likewise, at the end of the second battle, for the Christians to spare the fleeing Saracens would be a betrayal of the Christians' holy duty to avenge their martyred dead.

In *Willehalm*, however, as mentioned above, the Crusading ethos is not the sole motivating force for either army. The motives displayed in the battles in *Willehalm* are considerably more complex, including a desire to avenge perceived dishonour to one's family or the deaths of comrades or kinsmen, and to defend the realm. (In this respect, the ethos of *Willehalm* is perhaps closer to that of its French model than *Karl*'s is to the ethos of the *Chanson de Roland*.) Not only do the Saracens in the first battle capture eight Christian noblemen, but in the second battle the Christians also make efforts to gain captives of their own so that they can ransom their comrades (*Willehalm* 367,24-368,5; 458,20-459,20). The taking of prisoners was common in historical battles and in tournaments throughout the Middle Ages and

usually used as a means of extorting a lucrative ransom.[185] This is another element to the battle depictions in *Willehalm* that suggests that Wolfram, unlike Stricker, was writing from his own experience.

In the depictions of mêlée combat, then, there are several elements which appear both in *Willehalm* and in *Karl*, although in *Willehalm* the mêlée is described in more detail and makes up considerably more of the overall battle depictions than in *Karl*. In the depictions of individual figures in combat, and in the single combats, there are again common elements between the two texts, but the differences between the two are more obvious.

6.7.1.10 The leader in combat

Both in *Karl* and in *Willehalm* individual figures are picked out for description in the course of the melée: Willehalm and Terramer, Roland, Karl, Marsilie and Paligan as the principal leaders of the various armies, but also secondary figures such as Olivier, Turpin, Heimrich or Rennewart and the various named Saracen noblemen. In both texts they are generally depicted as courageous and skilful in combat, cutting down any who face them and fighting in the forefront of their *scharen* (e.g. *Karl* 9734-39, *Willehalm* 33,1-7). However, Stricker and Wolfram differ in some significant respects in their depiction of the leaders in combat.

In both texts there are descriptions of the hero, Willehalm or Roland, leaving his *schar* behind and cutting a path through the Saracens (*Karl* 5127-37, 7012-19, *Willehalm* 40,8-19). In *Karl*, the sense of this is never questioned. In *Willehalm*, however, when the young Saracen knight Poidwiz also leaves his *schar* to attack the Christians alone he is killed by the younger Heimrich. Wolfram comments:

> waz half sîn grôziu hers kraft,
> die im sîn vater schuof ze wer,
> mange sunderrotte, über mer?
> ûz den het er sich erstriten,
> daz er in ze verre was entriten.
> swer den sînen ie verkôs,
> der wart ouch etswenn sigelôs. (*Willehalm* 412,14-20)

[185] Taking prisoners was also a means to settle feuds, see Althoff, 1999, 4. See Strickland, 1996, 186-203, for a discussion of the development of the practice of capturing knights in order to demand ransoms.

In the first battle, Willehalm has little option but to fight alone; Poidwiz deliberately rides away from his *schar* in order to seek glory. A knight who leaves his *schar* becomes vulnerable to attack or to capture and Wolfram clearly regards it as folly. Strickland, 1998, 339, notes that Crusading knights were censured for breaking ranks to attack Turkish horse-archers who were harrying them (see also Strickland, 1996, 115-17). Stricker, on the other hand, like Konrad, appears to be unaware of this.

Wolfram's single combats too, although they contain many of the same basic elements as Stricker's (joust, breaking of lances, sword-blow to the head etc.) do not follow a set pattern as those in *Karl* mostly do. There are some cases of brief descriptions of jousts between named protagonists (see Tibalt v. Gandaluz, 366,14-22; Sinagun v. Gyffleiz, 369,22-30) in which no actual result is recorded except that both men acquitted themselves well. The obvious explanation would be that the two are simply swept on past each other by the force of the charge. This never occurs in *Karl*; all single combats, whether jousts or duels with swords, end in death or occasionally injury.

6.7.1.11 Chance

The death of Poidwiz introduces another detail which is generally missing from *Karl*, the element of chance. As in Willehalm's single combat against Arofel, the issue is decided by sheer luck. In Arofel's case, the straps holding up his leg-armour burst and his leg is exposed (*Willehalm* 78,26-79,7). In Poidwiz's case, his bridle is cut by accident so that he has no control over his horse. As it carries him away, Heimrich cuts him down from behind (*Willehalm* 412,22b-30).[186]

Other single combats do contain more familiar elements; the death of Vivianz is strongly reminiscent of the death of Roland and he suffers the same kind of injury as Olivier (*Karl* 7473-98, *Willehalm* 24,18-26,1). While Olivier succumbs to his injury relatively swiftly, however,

[186] The element of accident is also to be found in Joinville: 'Moy et mes chevaliers [...] alames rescourre monseigneur Raoul de Wanou [...]. Endementieres que je en revenoie, les Turs m'apuirent de leur glaives. Mon cheval s'agenoilla pour le fez que il senti, et je en alé outre parmi les oreilles du cheval. Et me redresçai au plus tost que je peu, mon escu a mon cul et m'espee en ma main.' (*La vie de saint Louis* § 222-3).

Vivianz survives until the following day. Likewise, the combat between Bernart and Cliboris contains the familiar sequence in which the Saracen strikes the Christian but fails to injure him, and is then killed (*Willehalm* 410,17-411,7). Nevertheless, the single combats in *Willehalm* are both less numerous and more disparate than those in *Karl.*

The Christian and Saracen leaders in *Willehalm* do occasionally echo the actions of the leaders in *Karl.* In the first battle in *Willehalm*, Bernart comes to the aid of the beleaguered Vivianz together with five of his companions while in *Karl* the emperor himself rescues Naymis (*Karl* 9938-63, *Willehalm* 41,20-42,14). In the same way, when Paligan and Terramer take the field they each kill a young Christian knight before facing the hero (*Karl* 10093-295, *Willehalm* 413,1-21, 441,30-442,13). Unlike Karl's single combat with Paligan, however, Willehalm's encounter with Terramer is not fatal; Terramer's army is already fleeing and Terramer himself escapes with only an injury.

6.7.1.12 Humour

It is among the named characters that we find another of the most striking differences between the battle descriptions of *Willehalm* and those of *Karl.* Although the first battle in *Willehalm* is depicted in an unrelievedly serious tone, the second contains an element of 'light relief' in the figure of Rennewart, the gigantic kitchen boy-turned-knight (see for example *Willehalm* 430,13-15). It is true that Rennewart's equivalent in *Aliscans*, Rainouart, is also a comic figure, and that Wolfram is in this instance following his French source (Hindley and Levy, 1983, 90); nevertheless, no such moments of comedy appear in the battles in *Karl.*

6.7.2 Summary of comparisons

The battle depictions in *Karl* and in *Willehalm*, then, do share some common elements, but are not strikingly similar. The common elements tend either to be details generally found in battle descriptions (the importance of breaking/maintaining formation, the significance of banners and battle-cries) or to be instances where Wolfram is deliberately referring to the events of Ronceval.

As far as the overall style of the battle descriptions is concerned, there is little or no similarity; whereas Stricker in *Karl* relies on repetition and formulaic description, Wolfram seems to delight in variety and unpredictability, highly suited to the depiction of battle in which nothing can be guaranteed. The references to the more mundane details of battle, such as disagreements over ranking on the field and the taking of captives for ransom, also suggest that Wolfram's knowledge of battle was greater than Stricker's, and lend a greater air of realism to Wolfram's account. By comparison with *Willehalm*, the battles in *Karl*, although containing more details on tactics than the *Rolandslied*, still appear somewhat formulaic and 'unreal'. It is certainly not possible to argue that Stricker was influenced to any great degree by Wolfram from this brief comparison of the two authors' battle descriptions.

6.8 Summary

In spite of the fact that identifying motifs and creating a scheme for depictions of battle is more complicated than for single combats, a 'battle scheme' does allow for detailed study not only of the content of the depiction, but also of its style, an aspect which so far has not been studied in detail in the critical literature. It allows for the division of a battle into its constituent engagements and for comparison between these engagements. It also allows for comparison of the battle depictions in different texts more precisely than has previously been attempted, and for identification of key elements of the individual author's style. Minor but telling differences have been established between the styles of the battle descriptions in the *Rolandslied* and in *Karl.* In particular, it is now clear that Stricker added details to his text in the areas of tactics and disposition, the importance of leadership, and the effects of fatigue and injury. There are no models for these details either in the *Rolandslied* or in the *Chanson de Roland.* A literary source for the additions Stricker makes is still unclear, however.

It has also been possible to confirm that, although there may have been some cross-influence between Stricker's *Karl* and Wolfram's *Willehalm*, the battles, at least, show common elements only on the most basic level. In spite of the fact that Stricker adds several aspects to his battle depictions that could be called 'realistic', the battles in *Karl* still fall short of the extraordinary detail found in *Willehalm.* This is hardly surprising, given that Wolfram, unlike Stricker, is likely to have had first-hand experience of the scenes he portrays.

The ethos of the battles in *Karl*, too, differs from that of the battles in *Willehalm.* Stricker remains faithful, for the most part, to the views expressed by Konrad, and portrays his Saracens almost exclusively as evil figures. There is nothing in *Karl* that corresponds to Wolfram's apologetic for peaceful coexistence between Christians and Saracens (*Willehalm* 307,25-309,30).

The role of the battles in Stricker's *Karl*, like the ethos of the battles, remains generally the same as in the *Rolandslied* or indeed in the *Chanson de Roland*, namely, that of encapsulating the conflict between the Saracens and Christians, both physical and spiritual, and of demonstrating through the ultimate victory of the Christians the justness of their cause and the superiority of their creed. At the heart of all three texts, although expressed in differing ways

and to differing extents, lies the sentiment most clearly expressed in the French: 'Paien unt tort et chrestïens unt dreit' (*Chanson de Roland* 1015).

Just as the single combats, and particularly the verbal exchanges between the individual combatants, embody the fundamental conflict between Christian and Saracen, so too by extension do the battles. Although Roland, Marsilie, Karl and Paligan are all inspired in battle by other motivations as well (revenge for previous defeats or for fallen comrades), the essential motivation of all the combatants, Christian and Saracen, is to prove the superiority of their faith. Both in the single combats and in the battles, Stricker presents us with a stark and uncomplicated vision of a Holy War.

7. Battles in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*

7.1 Introduction to the battles

Unlike *Karl*, Stricker's *Daniel* belongs to a literary tradition in which, for the most part, the description of full-scale battles does not play a part (M. Bloch, 1989, 106). The Arthurian romances of Hartmann and Wolfram, Stricker's immediate predecessors, contain occasional reference to mass combat (Hartmann's *Erec* includes a detailed description of a tournament, see *Erec* 2368-825), and Wirnt von Gravenberc's *Wigalois* contains a brief description of a siege, but detailed and lengthy depiction of mêlée combat as seen in *Karl* or in the *Rolandslied* is not part of the early Arthurian tradition. For this reason, Stricker's inclusion of battles in *Daniel* has at times been seen as a sign that he was in some way lacking either in skill or in understanding.[187] This interpretation has generally been rejected, and it is currently felt that Stricker had some purpose in including battles in his Arthurian romance. Quite what the role of the battles in *Daniel* is, however, has never been established beyond doubt.

There are other questions to be answered. Since there is no source in the Arthurian tradition for the *Daniel* battles, is there an identifiable source in other literature of the time? There are a variety of other texts in which battles are described, including Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman*, the *Alexanderlied* and of course *Willehalm* and the *Rolandslied*, all of which might possibly have acted as inspiration.

As we have seen in the single combats, however, Stricker does not simply borrow from other traditions: his battle scenes in *Daniel* are described using a wealth of imagery and descriptive language which is seldom found elsewhere in the text. What is the function of this imagery? Last but not least, how do the battles in *Daniel* relate to the development of the crucial concepts of *list* and *wîsheit*, and how does the introduction of these concepts affect the role of the battles?

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[187] See Schmidt, 1979, 170, who notes a '"spätzeitlich" bedingte[s] Nachlassen der idealen und poetischen Kraft' in *Daniel*. See also Brall, 1976, 222; Eikelmann, 1989, 107.

7.2 List of the battles

First battle	(2891-3896)
Second battle	(5000-274)
Third battle	(5380-423)
Fourth battle:	**(i)** (5448-708)
	(ii) (5760-91)

(Detailed summaries of the battles are given in Appendix 4)

7.3 Comparison of the battles in *Daniel*, in *Karl* and in *Willehalm*

Since Stricker was clearly familiar with the Roland material, the general consensus among commentators appears to be that the battles in *Daniel* are inspired by those in the *Rolandslied* or in other German texts influenced by the *chansons de geste* (Schmidt, 1979, 174; Rosenhagen, 1890, 66; de Boor, 1957, 73; Eikelmann, 1989, 107-27; Gürttler, 1976, 227). This view is substantiated by the similarity between Stricker's Artus and Karl (Rosenhagen, 1890, 52-53). It is also clearly the case that many of the motifs found in the *Rolandslied* (and in *Karl*) are also present in the battle depictions in *Daniel*, as Rosenhagen demonstrates. Some of the imagery Stricker includes in the battle scenes in *Daniel* also corresponds closely to that used by Konrad, and also to that used by Hartmann (Rosenhagen, 1890, 96-99). Eikelmann also notes the similarity between the imagery used in *Daniel* and in the *Rolandslied*.[188]

However, previous studies have failed to recognise the major differences between the battle descriptions in *Daniel* and of those in the *Rolandslied*, *Willehalm*, or indeed Stricker's

[188] Eikelmann, 1989, 111: 'Der Vergleich mit dem 'Rolandslied' lenkt nun für den 'Daniel' im besonderen auf Metaphern, Formeln und Umschreibungen hin, die den Ernst, die Affektgeladenheit und die brutale Gewalt des Kampfes, das Töten und Getötetwerden in der Schlacht aussagen.'

Karl. Simply to claim that the battle depictions in *Daniel* 'come from' the Roland tradition is not sufficient.[189]

The battle descriptions in *Daniel* fall far short of the detailed accounts depicted in the *Rolandslied*, *Karl* and particularly *Willehalm*. In *Daniel* Stricker uses only few of the motifs which appear in *Karl*, instead falling back on repetitive descriptions of mêlée combat, using elaborate metaphor and simile. There is almost no mention of the division of the armies, and no reference to the tactical manoeuvres which are present in the other works. If Stricker is indeed drawing on the *chanson de geste* tradition in adding battles to *Daniel*, he is substantially reworking their description (see Pingel, 1994, 244).[190]

7.3.1 Points of comparison

The basic structure of the battle depictions in *Daniel* differs both from *Karl* and from *Willehalm*. Instead of a first, disastrous battle, followed by a second encounter in which previous losses are avenged, in *Daniel* there is a series of four battles against Matur's seven armies, each of which takes place on a separate day (the fourth battle continues on the fifth day after a night's rest), and there is no previous defeat to avenge.[191] The series of battles recalls the series of engagements in the first battle in *Karl*, where Saracen *scharen* attack Roland's army one at a time and are repelled. A similar but more chaotic structure is also present in *Willehalm*.

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[189] Reisel provides an interesting alternative to the theory of influence from the Roland material, but again, it fails to tackle the details of the battles. She suggests that the descriptions of mêlée in *Daniel* were inspired by the Teutonic Order, which was well known both in the Holy Land and in Eastern Europe for its military actions at the time at which *Daniel* was written (Reisel, 1981, 87). Reisel bases her argument on various similarities between the organisation of Artus's knights and the Teutonic Order (Reisel, 1981, 81-87) among other points. Brall likewise sees the influence of contemporary society on *Daniel*, and regards the conflict between Artus and Matur as an echo of contemporary territorial conflicts (Brall 1976). Schneider, 1994, 145 suggests the siege of Namur in Wirnt von Gravenberc's *Wigalois* as an alternative source for the *Daniel* battles. Both Schneider and Schmidt see in *Daniel* evidence of an attempt to bring the world of the Arthurian romance closer to the world in which Stricker lived (Schneider, 1994, 138; Schmidt, 1979, 173-74; see also Brall, 1976, 230). Eikelmann too comments on an interest in 'realism' in the battles in *Daniel*, noting how Stricker dwells on the topic of death as the 'great leveller' (*Daniel* 5244-65; Eikelmann, 1989, 113).

[190] The lack of detail also argues against Reisel's theory of influence from the activities of the Teutonic Order, see footnote 189. One might also expect more detail if Stricker were drawing on contemporary territorial struggles, as Brall suggests.

[191] The motif of vengeance does appear, notably in the aftermath of Matur's death at Artus's hands, and again in the strand involving the two giants.

In *Daniel*, however, although Artus's army fights against a succession of Matur's *scharen*, each engagement can be described as a battle in its own right, as each ends with the surrender of Matur's force, or with a *fride* (*Daniel* 5688-89). As in *Karl*, the battles have a 'tidy' framework, since each (with one exception) begins with the removal of the banner from the mouth of the statue.[192]

As a result of the structure of the battle depictions in *Daniel*, Stricker again uses frequent repetition and some set motifs, although with the lack of single combats there are fewer of the more striking motifs available to him. However, he does make frequent use of motifs such as those depicting the hero in combat (e.g. the hero cuts his way through the press; the hero's prowess causes fear in the enemy).

7.3.1.1 The ethos of the battles

One important element of *Karl* which is also not present in *Daniel* is the concept of the dual battle, both physical and spiritual, in which one side, through martyrdom, can gain a heavenly reward. Instead, the source of the strife between the two kingdoms is Matur's hubris in demanding Artus's service as liegeman (see Schmidt, 1979, 172). The element of religion is not wholly absent from *Daniel*: when persuading Matur's widow to make peace with Artus, her counsellors argue that Artus's victory has proved that he was in the right (6074-75) – a reference to one element of the juridical combat, and Artus has previously claimed to have received his kingdom from God (488-89). However, the concept of the 'Holy War' is not found in *Daniel*.

7.3.1.2 The depiction of Matur's men

As a result of this change, the depiction of Matur's knights in *Daniel* is completely different from the depiction of the Saracens in *Karl*. *Willehalm*, however, is clearly not the model. Wolfram depicts his Saracens generally as valiant and courteous knights.[193] In *Daniel*, on the

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[192] This 'framework' to the battles tallies with the daily tournaments in which Matur's knights take part (*Daniel* 648-711); in fact, the first, second and third of Matur's armies arrive on the field expecting to take part in their usual practice (3072-76, 5000-02, 5380-82).
[193] There are some monstrous Saracens in *Willehalm* (*Willehalm* 395,15-27).

other hand, Stricker leaves Artus's opponents almost entirely faceless and nameless as 'die von Clûse'.[194] None of Matur's knights are named except Matur himself; likewise, none of his widow's counsellors are given names, and the queen of Cluse is only named once.[195] During the battles, there is no description of any feats performed by individual knights from Cluse, and there is certainly no description of the battle from their point of view, as there is of the Saracen opponents in *Willehalm*.

The anonymity of most of the protagonists in *Daniel*, together with the lack of single combats and the deaths of named characters, indicates that Stricker was not interested in engaging his audience emotionally in the battle depictions. Even where the distress of those in combat is portrayed, it is generalised (e.g. 5602-09). We are never invited, as in *Karl*, to share in the feelings of the individual combatants.

7.3.1.3 Tactics and disposition

Another result of this lack of detail is that there is no hint as to how Matur's *scharen* are organised, other than that there are seven in total (presumably each led by an overall commander, although even this is not explicitly stated). One would assume each *schar* to be subdivided, given the numbers involved, but Stricker does not confirm this (Pingel, 1994, 244-45).[196] The description of Artus's army includes only little more detail: Artus is accompanied by his best knights Gawein, Iwein and Parzival, as well as by Keii and by Daniel. Again, there is no suggestion of Artus's army being divided into *scharen*, and none of the named knights are portrayed leading their own men.[197]

As a result of the lack of detail on the tactical divisions of the armies, the battles are generally described in very broad terms:

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[194] Müller-Ukena, 1986, 48, notes that the lack of description of Matur's men is designed to make them appear as ciphers, 'marionettehaft' controlled by their king. This suggests some form of parallel with the victims of the *sieche*.

[195] The name she is given, 'Danise', is also clearly intended to be a suitable feminine counterpart to the name of the hero, see Rosenhagen, 1890, 62.

[196] See also section 5.3.1 for discussion of the size and the subdivision of armies.

[197] When in the later battles Artus is joined by the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe, however, the Graf does bring his own force with him, his four sons. The Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen also has followers, but they are only briefly mentioned.

- Matur's *schar* charges
- Mass jousts
- Lances are broken
- Swords are drawn
- Mêlée
- Matur's *schar* surrenders

Again, this resembles the pattern set in *Karl* for the clashes between the individual *scharen* in the first battle (see p. 163). However, as mentioned above, there are no single combats; instead, Stricker concentrates on descriptions of the actions of named characters, principally Artus, Daniel, Gawein, Iwein and Parzival, in the mêlée, fighting with swords (e.g. 5089-116). There is no description of any named character jousting as an individual.

There are no verbal exchanges between the two sides, as there are in *Karl*, and there is no mention of battle-cries or even of banners, as in both *Karl* and *Willehalm*. Further, in *Daniel*, there is almost no reference to the tactical manouevres mentioned in both other texts: encircling, breaking through the enemy line, attacking from the flank. The only concerted action undertaken by either side in *Daniel* is the initial mass joust, the encircling of Matur's army at the end of the first battle (3845-47), and the moment in the second battle where Artus's knights rally together (5233-43). Even the importance of maintaining formation is left unstated.

7.3.1.4 Structure

A brief comparison of the battles in *Daniel* with the scheme for the second battle in *Karl* (engagements 18-21), in which most mêlée combat appears, demonstrates how different in basic structure and in style the two are.[198]

[198] Where the *Karl* scheme refers to 'Christians', I refer in *Daniel* to the actions of Artus and his knights. However, references to 'Saracens' are here replaced by references to 'adversaries' or 'enemies'.

7.3.1.4.1 Schemes for Engagements 18-21 in *Karl*, compared with the battles in *Daniel*.

Motif	Engagements/battles in which motif appears:	
	in *Karl*	in *Daniel*
A: Enemy *schar* advances	18, 19, 21	1, 2, 3, 4
B: Single combat	18, 19, 20, 21	1*
C:'Munschoy!'	18, 20	
D: Forces charge	20	1, 2, 3, 4
E: Lances are lowered	20	
F: Mêlée	18, 20	1, 2, 3, 4
G: Many adversaries killed	18, 19, 20, 21	1, 2, 4
H: Christians avenge dead leader	20, 21	
I: Named Christian *schar*/leader and his men in combat	18, 20	3
J: Leader/named Christian in combat	*19, 20, 21*	*1, 2, 3, 4*
K: Enemy morale high	20	
L: Many Christians killed	20	1, 2, 4
M: Fire springs from the swordblades	20	1
N: Swords pierce armour	20	1, 4
O: Enemy morale weakened	20	
P: Many adversaries killed	19, 21	
Q: Enemy flees	21	
R: All enemies (alternative: all except one) killed	20, 21	
S: 'Victory against the odds'/Divine intervention	20, 21	

* Artus's single combat against Matur and Daniel's single combat against the giant.

Submotifs belonging to **Motif J: Leader/named Christian in combat** in Engagements 18-21 in *Karl* and in *Daniel*:

Submotif	Engagements/battles in which submotif appears	
	in *Karl*:	in *Daniel*:
J.i: Leader/named knight's sword pierces armour	20	1,4
J.ii: Leader/named knight kills many adversaries	20	1, 2, 4
J.iii: Leader/named knight comes to aid of his men	20	
J.iv: Leader/named knight comes to aid of comrade	20	1
J.v: Leader/named knight remains uninjured	20	1
J.vi: Leader/named knight breaks through enemy lines	20	1, 2
J.vii: Leader's/named knight's sword rings	19, 20	
J.viii: Metaphors/digressions describing leader/named knight in combat	20	1, 2, 4
J.ix: Description of leader (physical appearance, weapons, horse etc.)	20	

It is obvious from the comparison that the battles in *Daniel* contain only some of the motifs found in the second battle in *Karl*. The motifs which are present in *Daniel*, however, are often repeated, among others Motifs A (Enemy *schar* advances) and D (Forces charge). Motif F: Close quarters, Motif G: Many adversaries killed, and Motif J: Leader/named Christian in combat also appear repeatedly. Submotif J.xi: Metaphors/digressions describing the leader or named knight in combat is particularly prominent, since the imagery used in these digressions takes up a great deal of the narrative of the battles. Stricker's use of imagery in the *Daniel* battles is discussed in section 7.6.

7.3.1.5 Archery

Some aspects of the depiction are clearly similar to those in *Karl*, for instance, the use of archery. Here, however, there is an interesting difference between the two texts. In *Karl*, archers are deployed by the Saracens alone and used by the narrator to demonstrate the cowardice of the Saracens (7744-47). In *Daniel*, however, both sides use archery or missile weapons. Matur's knights shower Daniel with 'gêren' and 'spiezen' (3356-57). Artus's knights use missile weapons only against the invulnerable giant, who cannot be injured by other means.[199] It is noteworthy that Artus's knights do not turn their bows against Matur's *scharen*. The use of archery by Artus's knights in *Daniel*, rather than a demonstration of cowardice, is another example of how Daniel, and to a lesser extent others among Artus's knights, overcome their enemies by the use of *list* as well as by force of arms. I will return to the subject of *list* later.

The use of archery is, incidentally, not the only case where in *Daniel* the 'heroes' of the narrative resort to tactics similar to those used by the 'villains' in *Karl*. The first battle in *Karl*, the ambush of Roland's army, is the result of the plot devised by Ganelon to persuade Karl to withdraw from Spain, leaving Roland open to attack (2941-89). Similarly, in *Daniel*, when Matur's emissary, the first giant, appears at Artus's court, Gawein suggests that Artus stall the giant for seven days to allow him to summon his (Artus's) vassals, ostensibly so that they can witness his submission to Matur. Instead, Artus raises an army to confront Matur on the borders

[199] Gawein advises that they blind both the giants rather than attempt futilely to kill them (864-84), and in battle Artus's knights use arrows to carry out his advice on the one surviving giant (3160-69).

of Cluse (834-986). In both cases, trickery is used; however, in *Daniel* it is used to defend Artus from Matur's unreasonable demands, while in *Karl* it is used to further Ganelon's and the Saracens' vengeance.[200]

7.3.1.6 The hero in combat

Another motif which appears both in *Karl* and in *Daniel* is that of the hero riding alone through the press of the enemy. In *Karl*, this motif becomes most prominent towards the end of the first battle, when only Roland and Turpin are left alive (7748-66). In *Daniel*, however, this motif occurs more frequently. Most frequently, it is Daniel himself who is the subject of the motif (e.g. 3140-41, 3345-50, 5117-20), but Artus is also described in this manner (3571-608). There is no mention of the folly of such action as there is in *Willehalm* (412,14-20).

This motif leads in one case to a scene also found in *Karl*. When Daniel in the first battle rides through the press and is separated from the rest of Artus's knights, he makes a stand in the middle of a ring of fallen knights (3555-57). He fells so many that they heap up around him 'hôhe als ein burcgrabe' (3565), and defends himself from upon their bodies 'rehte als ein dietdegen' (3567). This corresponds closely to the situation of Roland and Turpin as described in *Karl* 7964-68:

> si wâren dâ beslozzen
> al umbe sich mit den tôten,
> die si nider heten geschrôten,
> daz ir die heiden niht ensâhen
> noch enmohten in niht genâhen.

Daniel 3563-64 in particular echoes *Karl* 7965-66 in the use of the verbs *geschrôten / verschrôten*, rhyming with *tôten*. Artus then makes a sortie to rescue Daniel (3571-75), in much the same way that Turpin has gone to Roland's aid in *Karl* (7917-49). However, the situation in *Daniel* is not the same as that in *Karl*: in *Karl*, Roland is surrounded by Saracens and hemmed in so tightly that he cannot even raise his sword (7925-31). His horse is killed under him and the narrator tells us that it is only God's will that saves Roland himself (7932-42). One might surmise that Roland is protected by his armour, and perhaps by the fact that the press around

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[200] See Zotz (1999) for an examination of the ambivalent nature of *list*. See also Semmler (1991).

him makes it equally difficult for the Saracens to strike him effectively. Whatever the case, Roland is in dire straits, and is saved only by Turpin's intervention.

Although Daniel has previously been described as in grave peril, by the point at which Artus intervenes Daniel seems to be in comparatively little danger. He is certainly not hemmed in ('er habte in einem ringe wît', 3555), and although he is being pressed by the enemy (3568-69), given his prowess and the magical sword he is wielding, he is holding his own without too much difficulty. In short, Daniel is not in immediate danger. Nevertheless, the sight of his discomfort ('ungemach', 3572) is enough to prompt Artus to fury and he instantly makes a terrifying sortie through Matur's knights, prompting them to swear that he is the Devil incarnate (3587-88). Precisely why Stricker adds this episode in this form is not clear. It is possible that he is merely using it to introduce further descriptions of Artus and Daniel breaking through the press, to which he is clearly partial. It is also possible, given other aspects of the battle descriptions which will be discussed later, that he is signalling to his audience that these battles should not be taken too seriously.

7.4 Comparison with other texts

It is obvious from the details noted above that the battle depictions in *Daniel*, as previously stated, are not based slavishly on those found in the *Rolandslied* or in *Willehalm*. Comparison with texts from other literary traditions is required to establish whether Stricker was drawing on another model, or whether the style of the *Daniel* battles was his own invention.

There are a number of literary traditions containing battle descriptions on which Stricker might have drawn; namely, the Arthurian romance, the *Antikenroman*, the heroic epic and the *Spielmannsepik*. The texts examined below are representatives of these traditions, beginning with the Arthurian romance since this tradition is closest to *Daniel* itself. In each case, I have selected texts containing material that can best be compared with the *Daniel* battles: from the Arthurian romance, Wirnt von Gravenberc's *Wigalois* and Pleier's *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*; from the *Antikenroman*, Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman* and Pfaffe Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied*; from the heroic epic, *Dietrichs Flucht*, the *Rabenschlacht* and the *Nibelungenlied*; and from the *Spielmannsepik*, *Herzog Ernst*. I have not chosen to examine texts which contain material of more peripheral interest (such as the tournaments in Hartmann's *Erec* or Wolfram's *Parzival*). Of all of these, however, only the *Alexanderlied* shows a style of battle description markedly different from that found in Konrad and Wolfram, and for this reason the *Alexanderlied* is examined separately in section 7.5.

7.4.1 *Wigalois* and *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*

Schneider theorises that Stricker's *Daniel* may have been influenced by Wirnt von Gravenberc's *Wigalois* (see footnote 189). *Wigalois* like *Daniel* features a battle in which the hero [G]wigalois is joined by other famous Arthurian figures (most notably Gawein, Iwein and Erec) to overcome an opponent (*Wigalois* 10720-11152). However, the similarity ends here.

First, the battle in *Wigalois* is a siege, in which Gwigalois, Gawein and their army mount an assault on the city of Namur. This is clearly a quite different type of encounter from the clashes between Artus's army and the forces of Cluse.

Secondly, and more importantly, Wirnt gives his audience a wealth of detail about the battle. Although the event is described quite briefly (in comparison with the battles in *Karl* or

Willehalm), he devotes a considerable amount of time to describing the composition and division of the besieging army and details such as the devices on their banners (10771-824). He gives a detailed description of the city's position and defences (10730-59). He notes that Gawein and Gwigalois place themselves and their men deliberately where the fighting is likely to be heaviest (10790-95). He even describes how the besiegers are careful to set their encampment out of range of the city walls, and how a market is set up, both to provide food and to sell goods to the knights during the battle (*Wigalois* 10837-76). The siege lasts six weeks.

In addition, Wirnt not only mentions the use of foot-soldiers (*sarjande*) and siege equipment, he also describes them in action (10974-90). This is particularly interesting, since foot-soldiers are mentioned in *Karl* and in *Willehalm* but no detailed description of them in combat is provided.

In short, the siege of Namur in *Wigalois* is described in detail, with attention paid both to the actions of the main characters (11116-27) and to the actions of the *scharen* as interdependent units of the army (10927-73). Brief though the description is, it shares many of the details of the battle descriptions in *Karl* and *Willehalm*, and introduces elements that are not found even in *Karl*. This is clearly in stark contrast to the battles in *Daniel*.

It should be noted that there are some common points between *Wigalois* and *Daniel*. Both texts include descriptions of mêlée fighting (*Wigalois* 10958-67, *Daniel* 3091-95) and both also include references to deforestation caused by the excessive jousting (*Wigalois* 10997-98, *Daniel* 5046-47). This image, however is common to many authors, and is discussed below.

A second romance that bears examination in this light, although written after *Daniel*, is Pleier's *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*. Pleier's *Garel* is in many ways an 'orthodox' Arthurian romance (Müller, 1981), arguably in reaction to *Daniel*'s unorthodoxy (Brall, 1976; Gürttler, 1976, 239-40; Buschinger, 1994, 67). Artus plays the part of the largely passive ruler, the giants are re-cast as knightly figures, and Garel's *âventiure* are revised to fit a more 'courtly' world.

Pleier's battle-scenes also differ considerably from those portrayed in *Daniel*. Müller provides a brief but cogent description:

> Die Schlachtbeschreibungen im 'Daniel' und im 'Garel' sind sehr verschieden. Im Daniel wird die Darstellung über hervorragende Einzelkämpfer geleistet, alles übrige ist eine unstrukturierte Masse, die bestenfalls in ihrer Beziehung zu diesen Einzelkämpfern eine Struktur erhält [...] Diese

> Art des fließenden Massenkampfes wird vom Pleier in größere räumliche wie zeitliche Präzision überführt. Das Riesenheer wird in Unterheere gegliedert mit je einem Führer und Bannerträger. Schlachtrufe und Heerzeichen sichern den Zusammenhalt und das etappenmäßige Vorgehen die zeitliche Ordnung. (Müller, 1981, 109-10)

I disagree with Müller's assessment of the battles in *Daniel* as completely unstructured, but she is correct to emphasise the role of the hero or heroes in combat. Müller sees the reworking of the battle scenes in *Garel* as another instance of Pleier's attempt to bring the narrative more into line with Arthurian tradition (Müller, 1981, 107-08), as does de Boor (1957), 79. However, I would argue instead that the comparative 'Realitätsnähe' (Müller, 1981, 110) which Pleier achieves in *Garel* by the references to banners, battle-cries and the subdivision of armies is closer not to the Arthurian tradition, but to *Karl* and *Willehalm.*

This can be seen easily from examples from the texts:

> Nu kom gevarn Tjofabier
> der brâht wol XX tûsent man
> under zwein vanen dan. (*Garel* 13860-62)
>
> Unz der bischof gevaht,
> dô hete sich ûf diu ros gemaht
> diu vierde schar mit gewalt:
> Malprimes von Pergalt,
> dem was ze vorderst harte gâch.
> zwelf tûsent volgten im nâch. (*Karl* 5509-14)
>
> Tjofabier und sîne man
> huoben mit lûter stimme an
> ordenlîch ir krîe.
> si schrîten 'Merkanîe'.
> der dôn wart Eskilabôn kunt.
> er begunde ruofen 'Belamunt'
> er und alle sîne man. (*Garel* 13907-13)
>
> Monschoy riefens alle
> unt punierte mit dem schalle.
> dô riefen di heiden iesâ:
> Preciôsâ! Preciôsâ! (*Karl* 9699-702)
>
> die heiden sich berieten:
> ir herzeichen wart benant,
> si schrîten alle Tervigant.
> [...]
> Monschoy was der getouften ruof,
> die got ze dienste dar geschuof. (*Willehalm* 18,26-19,2)

In *Garel* we see banners and battle-cries being used, as well as reference to the number of men in an individual *schar*. Besides this, there are parallels to be drawn with *Willehalm* in particular, especially in the fact that the battle takes place next to a river, and that towards the end of the

battle Ekunaver's force stages a fighting retreat across the ford (*Garel* 15802-27, 15882-951, compare *Willehalm* 435,16-25; 436,16-30).[201]

It is clear from this brief examination alone that in his reworking of *Daniel* Pleier too combines elements of the epic and romance traditions, rather than creating a purely 'courtly' version of Stricker's work, and that his battles, like those in *Wigalois*, more closely resemble Konrad's or Wolfram's.[202]

7.4.2 The *Eneasroman*

The battle depicted in the *Eneasroman* (235,26-248,38), like the siege of Namur, is shorter than the battles depicted in the *Rolandslied*, *Karl* and *Willehalm*, but again shares some common features with them (see Palgen, 1920, 222-31 for a comparison of the battles in *Willehalm* and the *Eneasroman*). The battle, although unplanned, is a preliminary to the single combat between Eneas and Turnus (see section 2.3.2.1), reminiscent of the second battle in *Karl*, which is designed as a preliminary to the decisive single combat between Karl and Paligan.

The battle between the Trojans and Turnus's army in the *Eneasroman* contains details pertaining to the division of the army and the tactics used, particularly in the preparatory stages. Turnus and Eneas both leave their armies, taking only a small force with them (Turnus has 1000 men, while Eneas has only 200). Turnus plans to attack Eneas using stealth and to kill him if at all possible (238,4-9), but is unable to find his opponent, who has concealed himself in the woods. After the battle Eneas, on the other hand, is presented with the perfect opportunity to attack Turnus from behind but unable to take advantage of it because he does not have enough men (246,1-5).

While Turnus's attempted surprise attack is occurring, his main army, spurred on by Kamille, attacks the Trojan army (238,36-37). Turnus's army is divided into two parts, each

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[201] Both Eikelmann and Kern remark on the way in which the *Garel* battles are stylistically closer to those of the *Rolandslied* than to those in *Daniel* (Eikelmann, 1989, 114; Kern, 1981, 205-7).

[202] It seems that the Arthurian tradition as a whole was influenced by texts such as *Willehalm*, and that, gradually, mass battle became a common feature of the Arthurian romance. This, interestingly enough, mirrors the development in battle depiction in the *chanson de geste* tradition, as seen in the comparison of the battles in the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Rolandslied* and *Karl*, where in the French the focus is very much on the individual in combat, in the German versions increasingly on the depiction of mêlée.

comprising ten thousand knights, commanded by Kamille and Messapus. Kamille attacks the Trojans, pushing them back a good half mile, but is then forced to retreat herself when the Trojans rally and press forward (240,12-15). Messapus makes a sortie out of the city to support Kamille and the Trojans are pushed back once more, but have caused both Kamille and Messapus heavy losses (240,20-26). The battle is ended abruptly by the death of Kamille and the consequent withdrawal of her forces from the field (244,39-245,27). The returning Eneas now lays siege to Laurentum in order to secure the victory if the single combat does not now take place.

As with *Wigalois*, there is clearly much more detail in this battle description than in *Daniel*. There are, however, some comparisons to be made. Veldeke makes some use of the depiction of general mêlée that Stricker uses so widely in *Daniel* (239,4-13). He also emphasises the role of named characters in battle, most prominently Kamille (see 239,23-29). Veldeke also uses imagery which appears both in *Daniel* and in the Roland tradition, such as the image of the spilt blood turning the grass red (240,36-37).

It should be noted, on the other hand, that Veldeke depicts single combats and names characters on both sides of the conflict, even those of relatively minor importance, whilst in *Daniel* the vast majority of the protagonists are nameless and faceless. Veldeke also uses the battle as an opportunity to reveal characters' natures.

In the encounter between Tarcun and Kamille (241,2-242,7), we see two sets of motifs that appear repeatedly in the Roland tradition, particularly in *Karl*: first, the verbal exchange between Tarcun and Kamille (241,2-40; 242,24-38), and secondly, the motif of an attack in revenge for a fallen comrade (242,8-15). Veldeke also includes descriptions of noteworthy armour and equipment (Kamille's and Chores's), which are reminiscent of the descriptions of the Saracens' accoutrements in *Karl*. All in all, Veldeke's description once again resembles the Roland tradition more than the battles in *Daniel*.

7.4.3 *Dietrichs Flucht*, the *Rabenschlacht* and the *Nibelungenlied*

The battles in the *Rabenschlacht* and *Dietrichs Flucht* also bear great resemblance to those in *Karl*, both being described in detail. In the *Rabenschlacht* (471,1-868,6) the preparations for the

battle are reminiscent of *Karl* and *Willehalm*: the division of Dietrich's army is portrayed, including such details as descriptions of the banners carried by each leader and the number of men following each (474,1-498,6). The arming and armouring of the army is described (521,1-523,3), and Dietrich makes a speech of encouragement to his men (502,1-508,6). Rüedeger names himself *rôtemeister*, and the army is divided into *scharen* (534,1-554,6). The order of the army is established in detail. Finally, Dietrich plans to attack Ermrich and his army at first light (572,1-6).

The battle contains detailed descriptions of mêlée combat, similar to those found in *Willehalm*. These descriptions refer to the use of battle-cries (616,1-2), as well as to the individual *scharen* or *rôten* which make up the armies (three *scharen* contain troops of archers with laminated bows, 616,6; see also 646,1-2 for a description of a *rôte* led by a named character). Single combats are also fought between named characters (for example, 623,1-633,6). The motif of revenge taken for a companion's defeat appears also: Starcher unhorses Wolfhart in single combat, but is himself then killed by Dietrich. In general, then, although the *Rabenschlacht* is written in stanzas, the battle depictions remain similar to those found in *Karl* and *Willehalm*.

In *Dietrichs Flucht* (3110-548), much attention is again paid to the preparations for the battle, but more telling is the description of the movements of individual *scharen* during the course of the combat. Dietrich's force splits into five units in the midst of Ermrich's army to guard against any resistance (3313-20). Resistance occurs when Rienolt of Milan and his four hundred join the fray; they are met by Wolfhart and his *schar* of two hundred men, at which point there is a single combat between the leaders of the two *scharen* which Wolfhart wins (3343-47, 3361-77). We are also given a glimpse of the tactics used by Dietrich's *scharen*: before being drawn into combat with Rienolt, Wolfhart's men have ridden through Ermrich's army three times (3340-41). This almost certainly refers to the tactic, mentioned in *Karl* and in *Willehalm*, of regrouping after a charge and returning back through the enemy ranks. Again, as with the *Rabenschlacht*, single combats between named characters take place.

In both the *Rabenschlacht* and *Dietrichs Flucht*, although motifs are used which appear also in *Daniel*, these do not have any great significance, since they are common to other texts as

well (for example, fire flying from helms, sword-blades glowing from the strength of the blows). As in *Wigalois*, *Garel* and the *Eneasroman*, however, the battles are described in considerably greater detail than those in *Daniel*, and the *Rabenschlacht* battle in particular might fruitfully be compared with the battles in *Willehalm*.

The battle between the Burgundians and the Saxons in the *Nibelungenlied*, on the other hand (172,1-221,4), is considerably shorter, and contains little detail on the tactics used by the opposing armies.[203] Nevertheless, the *Nibelungenlied* battle again contains much more 'realistic' detail than do the *Daniel* battles. We are given the names of the Burgundian banner-bearer (Volker, 172,2) and *scarmeister* (Hagen, 172,4), and the numbers of both the Burgundian and the Saxon armies. Leaders from the two opposing forces survey the enemy's strength (179,1-180,4). Banners are used: Liudeger orders his banner lowered to signal to both armies that he is ready to surrender (217,1-2). The Burgundian army is accompanied by its baggage, and after their victory, the Burgundians have pack-horses or carts ready to carry their weapons back (221,1-2).

One aspect of the *Nibelungenlied* battles which is mirrored in *Daniel*, however, is the repeated reference to the deeds of a group of named characters on the Burgundian side (Sivrit himself, Hagen, Volker, Gernot, Dancwart, Ortwin, Sindolt and Hunolt), corresponding to the repeated portrayals in *Daniel* of Artus and his best knights (Daniel, Gawein, Iwein and Parzival) in combat (compare for example *Nibelungenlied* 200,1-201,4 and *Daniel* 3529-39). However, reference to a select group of named combatants is also not foreign to *Karl* or to the *Rolandslied*.

7.4.4 *Herzog Ernst*

Herzog Ernst resembles *Daniel* in that both texts feature a giant who fights with the other combatants in battle. However, once again, there are more similarities with *Karl* than with *Daniel*.

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[203] I have not included the climactic conflict between the Burgundians and the Huns in the *Nibelungenlied* in this study, since it bears little or no similarity to the pitched battles described in *Daniel*.

The battle (4661-910) takes place between Christians and Saracens, and, as with the battles in *Karl*, is portrayed as a spiritual as well as a physical conflict (see 4861-63).[204] As in *Karl* again, the two forces are compared: the Christians are fighting for salvation, but the Saracens for worldly *prîs* (4686) and in the service of their ladies (4766-68) as well as for their gods. Again as in *Karl*, the Saracens are richly dressed and accoutred as an outward symbol of their hubris (4677-86). They are preceded by the sound of drums and trumpets.

The resemblance to *Karl* becomes yet more striking with the description of the wagons which carry the Saracens' idols onto the field (4687-94, 4709-12). As in *Karl*, the idols are one of the first casualties on the Saracen side (*Herzog Ernst* 4787-93, *Karl* 5164-99).

The similarity with *Karl* does not reside solely in the religious aspect of the conflict. Although less attention is paid to the division of the armies than in *Karl*, we learn that the *vogt* of Babylon is supported by the kings of Damascus and Halap among others, all with their men, just as Marsilie is supported by other Saracen leaders. The Saracens, who are experienced in battle ('sie wâren ze strîte wîse', 4804), use rested *scharen* to attack (4804-20). Both armies call out their battle-cries. During the mêlée, order is still maintained; the narrator refers to Ernst and his companions breaking through the Saracens' *rôte* (4844-5).

Although there is less detail of any kind (descriptive or military) in the *Herzog Ernst* battle than in either the *Rabenschlacht* or *Dietrichs Flucht*, the style of the battle clearly echoes that of *Karl* and the *Rolandslied*, particularly in the conflict of religions. *Herzog Ernst* also contains less reference to mêlée than the *Rabenschlacht* or *Dietrichs Flucht*, and in this is also more similar to *Karl* than to *Willehalm* or to *Daniel*.

7.4.5 Summary of comparisons

It appears from the brief examination of the texts above that the style of battle depiction exemplified in *Karl*, the *Rolandslied* and *Willehalm*, with an emphasis on military detail, organisation and tactics, was also prevalent in other German literary traditions, such as the later

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[204] I refer to *Herzog Ernst* D for this study. Although *Herzog Ernst* B is chronologically closer to *Daniel*, the battle between the Christians and Saracens is not described at length in this version (see *Herzog Ernst* B, 5505-89). Some details are however to be found: the Saracens suffer injuries because they are unarmoured (5562-64), and their *her* is broken by the Christians (5588-89).

Arthurian romance and the German epic.[205] It is beyond the bounds of this study to examine whether Konrad, Stricker and Wolfram were the source of this type of battle depiction, or whether they were instead drawing on older German traditions. Nevertheless, it is obvious that this style was widely popular, and that the *Daniel* battles are the exception rather than the rule. There is however, another text to be discussed: the *Alexanderlied.*

[205] *Kudrun* also contains descriptions of battles. However, the battle between Hagen and Hetel in *Kudrun* (*Kudrun* 495,1-526,4) bears little resemblance to those in *Karl* or the *Rolandslied*, being fought exclusively on foot and using spears as projectiles rather than couched lances. This style of combat, which might be described as 'archaic', also bears little resemblance to that found in *Daniel*, and for this reason is not included. Gibbs (1994), however, notes similarities between the conflicts in *Kudrun* and that in *Willehalm*, particularly between the ethos of the battles of Alischanz and Wülpensant.

7.5 Comparison with the *Alexanderlied*

Pfaffe Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied*, or the continuation of his work, written around 1170, has previously been cited as a possible source for Stricker's *Daniel*. Gürttler suggests that Artus's active role in *Daniel* is modelled as much on Alexander as on Karl (Gürttler, 1976, 231).

Stricker was clearly familiar with the *Alexanderlied*, and quotes directly from it in his claim that *Daniel* is translated from an earlier French version.

Elberîch von Bisenzun
der brâte uns diz liet zû,
der hetiz in walischen getihtit.
ih hân is uns in dûtischen berihtit.
nieman ne schuldige mih:
alse daz bûch saget, sô sagen ouh ih. (*Alexanderlied* 13-18)

Von Bisenze meister Albrich,
der brâhte ein rede an mich
ûz wälscher zungen.
die hân ich des betwungen
daz man sie in tiutschen vernimet,
swenne kurzwîle gezimet.
nieman der enschelte mich:
louc er mir, sô liuge ouch ich. (*Daniel* 7-14)

It is intriguing that Stricker claims the same author as the source for his work as for the *Alexanderlied*. Although a fragment of a French poem about Alexander by Alberic of Pisançon does exist, (Ruttmann, 1974, VIII), no trace has ever been found of a French *Daniel*. It is commonly believed that Stricker simply drew on the *Alexanderlied* for his 'authentication' of *Daniel*,[206] which, if true, hints at other connections between the two works.

Stricker's Artus is certainly closer to the figure of the warrior monarch Alexander than to the Artus of Hartmann or Wolfram's romances, as Gürttler suggests. However, there are also similarities between Daniel and Alexander. Daniel resembles Alexander in his reliance not only on his strength and prowess but also on his *wîsheit* and *list*, that is, his intelligence and his use of cunning and trickery.[207]

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[206] See Rosenhagen, 1890, 48; Gürttler, 1976, 225-26; Ragotzky, 1981, 50.

[207] *list* has been variously interpreted by commentators. Agricola refers to 'Lebensklugheit' (Agricola, 1955, 216), whilst Gürttler describes Daniel's qualities as 'Klugheit und Schlauheit' (Gürttler, 1976, 226). Haug uses the terms 'Gewandheit und Kalkül' (Haug, 1980, 220). Perhaps the most fitting translation is provided by Böhm, who refers to Daniel's capacity for 'Verstandesanwendung' (Böhm, 1995, 187). Buschinger's translations of *list* as 'Intellekt' and 'Verstandesleistung' are also appealing (Buschinger, 1994, 68).

Alexander is described as 'listich' (*Alexanderlied* 7), and Daniel likewise often uses *list* and *wîsheit* (for example, *Daniel* 2075-9). If Artus echoes Alexander's role as warrior monarch, Daniel mirrors his intelligence and cunning.[208] The topic of *list* is discussed in detail below.

7.5.1 *Alexanderlied* battles

Less frequently noted is the similarity in style between the descriptions of battle in *Daniel* and in the *Alexanderlied*. The battles in the *Alexanderlied* are again much shorter than those in *Karl* or in the *Rolandslied*. The battle against Amenta in particular (*Alexanderlied* 2129-56) is very briefly described.

Brummack shows that the battles in Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied*, in particular in the *Straßburger Alexander*, are modelled closely on the battle descriptions in the Latin versions of the Alexander tradition, adding only few 'volksepische' motifs such as references to blood flowing. Brummack notes of the Latin Alexander tradition:

> Ausführliche Schlachtschilderungen paßten gar nicht zum Stil des Alexanderromans. Viel größeren Raum nehmen Alexanders Wege ein, [...] seine vielfältigen Kriegeslisten. Nie wird eine Besendung oder Heeressammlung geschildert. [...] Die eigentliche Schlacht wird nur summarisch behandelt. Die beiden Heere treten einander gegenüber (manchmal wird der Ort angegeben). Die Größe der Schlacht wird zusammenfassend angedeutet. Beide Seiten kämpfen tapfer, die Schlacht dauert sehr lange [...]. Der Klang der Tuben und der Lärm der Kämpfenden mischen sich. Verschiedene Waffen und Kampfarten werden erwähnt. Man hört Jammern und Schreie (einmal). Die feindlichen Truppen haben schließlich höhere Verluste, ihr Heerführer flieht und mit ihm daz ganze Heer. Häufig sind Zahlenangaben über die Größe der Heere und Verluste. [...] Einzelkämpfer werden außer Alexander nicht hervorgehoben. Auf Darius' Seite werden allenfalls einige Führer ohne Namen erwähnt (Brummack, 1966, 74-5).[209]

In general, Lamprecht's battles feature a strong focus on the figure of Alexander himself, who is portrayed evoking such fear in his adversaries that armies flee before him (*Alexanderlied* 2799-2806, see *Daniel* 3576-95). Aside from this, as in *Daniel* the battles are largely made up of mêlées. There are occasional mentions of the kind of military or tactical detail found in the

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[208] Although other figures in medieval German literature do also use *liste*, for example Tristan, these are not generally used in situations of combat.

[209] Lienert also notes the difference between the styles of battle depiction in the Alexander tradition, in other 'Antikenromane', and in other German traditions (see Lienert, 2000, 32, 36, see also Pütz, 1971, 13-14, 25). The later German Alexander tradition tends to add more military and tactical material to the battle-scenes; Rudolf von Ems in particular adds such details as the number of troops, the disposition of the armies, etc., which Brummack sees as evidence of influence from Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (Brummack, 1966, 76). See Jackson, 2003, for a discussion of Rudolf von Ems's depiction of battle.

Roland material, but these are few and far between. Likewise, the 'Holy War' plays no part in the *Alexanderlied*; as in *Daniel* again, the conflicts are political, not religious.[210]

7.5.1.1 The *Alexanderlied*: the second battle against Darius

The second battle against Darius and the battle against Porus are the most fruitful sources of comparison. (The battle against Marios and Tybotes and the first battle against Darius contain long passages about specific events surrounding Alexander, and the battle against Amenta is too briefly described.) The second battle against Darius is succinctly and simply described:

> The two armies gather at dawn and Alexander is the first into battle. Many missiles are thrown. Drums and trumpets sound. Darius's Persian army, drawn up 'widely', is brought to bay. Alexander speaks to his men and they advance on Darius's army. The two armies meet beside the Strage river and fight first with lances, then with swords. There is great loss of life and Darius loses heart on seeing so many of his men fall (two hundred thousand, not counting those who drown in the river), and flees the field. His army also turn and flee, but Alexander pursues them and cuts them down without mercy. (3214-345)

Several motifs in the second battle against Darius also appear in *Daniel*, although they also appear in *Karl* and in battle depictions in other texts. These include the following: the armies meet first with lances (Motifs J and K, compare *Daniel* 5046-47, and *Alexanderlied* 3270-71). The battle is more fierce than any before (*Daniel* 3088-90, 3106-07, *Alexanderlied* 3275-81). Helms and shields are broken, hauberks are pierced (Motif P; *Daniel* 3091-95, *Alexanderlied* 3286-96). The fallen float or drown in the blood that has been spilt on the ground (*Daniel* 5628-31, *Alexanderlied* 3283-85). Bodies cover the ground (*Daniel* 5392-95, *Alexanderlied* 3268-69). As in *Daniel* little attention is paid to the actual conduct of the battle; there is no reference to any division of the armies involved and there is no mention of tactics beyond the use of lances for the first impact, then swords.[211]

It is also interesting that here, as in *Daniel*, we are given almost no named characters. The only two combatants named are Alexander and Darius; the rest, as in *Daniel*, are not even referred to as individuals. Nevertheless, we are told, again as in *Daniel*, that the knights on both

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[210] Pütz, 1971, 24-27, notes the similarity between the battles in the *Alexanderlied* and the single mass encounter in *König Rother* (4030-292). However, I do not examine the *Rother* passage here, since it does not portray a pitched battle.

[211] Lamprecht does mention that Darius's army is 'gesamnet wîte' (*Alexanderlied* 3245), but it is not possible to say whether this means that the army is deployed in a wide formation or whether he is referring only to the size of the army.

sides are valiant men and that the Persians are as valiant and praiseworthy as the Greeks (*Alexanderlied* 3321-22).

Clearly the ending of the battle, with Darius's flight and Alexander's pursuit of the Persian army (which Lamprecht condemns as 'mort', *Alexanderlied* 3342), differs greatly from the ending of any of the battles in *Daniel*.[212] Nevertheless, there are definite similarities in the style of the account.

7.5.1.2 The battle against Porus

The battle against Porus begins with an episode which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the battles in *Daniel*, but is noteworthy nonetheless:

> Porus gathers his army, including many elephants. Alexander causes iron statues of knights to be made and filled with Greek fire. Scouts survey the armies, then the two armies are deployed. Porus sends out his elephants first, but Alexander sends out the statues in front of his army. When the elephants attack them, they are burned by the Greek fire and those that do not die flee back through Porus's army.

Battle is then joined:

> Porus speaks to his men to encourage them. The Indians rally in spite of their losses and defend themselves with archery. Alexander's leadership prevents a defeat for the Greeks. The Indians lose heart but Porus speaks to them again. There is a mêlée lasting three days.
>
> Alexander sees his losses and demands a *fride*. He and Porus fight a single combat and Porus is killed, but his army is enraged and the battle resumes. There is great slaughter; the Indians rally and break through the Greek *scharen* but the Greeks avert disaster and gain the victory. The Indians are persuaded to surrender. (*Alexanderlied* 4316-739)

Although elephants do not appear in any of the battles in *Daniel*, they are native to Cluse, where they are used not in war but to carry palaces for Matur which can be moved from place to place. Both in *Daniel* and in the *Alexanderlied* the narrator gives a brief description of the nature and abilities of the elephant, and in these there are some parallels:

Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal	*Alexanderlied*
ein tier daz heizet helfant,	si brâhten manich elfent.
daz enist dir niht wol erkant,	von den wil ih û sagen,
des kraft ist sô stæte,	wiliche sterke si haben
swer kunde mit geræte	[...]
einen berc darûf geladen,	si sint ûzer mâze stark.
daz enmöhte im niht geschaden (585-90)	man mach ûf si bûwen,
	willit irs getrûwen,
	turme unde berchfride (4327-36)

[212] There is some similarity with the Roland tradition, for example the flight of Marsilie and the pursuit of Paligan's army.

ez gebüeget niemer sîniu bein (593)
ez stât naht unde tac (600)

ez ist der groesten tier ein
daz diu erde ie getruoc.
von sîner huf unz an den buoc
ist zwelf klâfter unde mê (594-7)

sîner krefte ist alsô vil,
ez enstirbet von keiner slahte nôt,
man enwelle im gerne tuon den tôt (602-4)

alsiz gevellet ouh dernider,
ûf ne komet iz niwit sider;
iz mûz dâ ligende blîben,
wandiz ne hât niht knieschîben;
wellent irs gelouben,
des ne mach iz niht gebôgen
an den schenkelen sîn gebeine (4362-8)

ouh sint selbe vil grôz (4338)

si net vorhten slach noh stôz
in neheinen stunden.
man ne mac si niwit wunden,
wen in den nabel under (4339-42)

These details on the nature of elephants cannot be said to prove that Stricker was drawing specifically on the *Alexanderlied*, since they are also to be found in various versions of the Book of the Maccabees and in commentaries on it (Hatto, 1982).[213] Nevertheless, it is interesting that both texts include this information.

Alexander's tactic against Porus's elephants has no direct parallel in *Daniel*; nevertheless it illustrates a key similarity between Lamprecht's and Stricker's heroes in battle; both use *liste* ('listiclîche sachen', *Alexanderlied* 4392) to overcome their enemies. It is also important to note that neither Daniel nor Alexander relies on *wîsheit* and *list* alone; both possess courage and prowess as well. Both Alexander and Daniel use *liste* only where courage and prowess alone will not produce the desired effect.

Another parallel lies in the single combat between Alexander and Porus, and the reaction of Porus's army to his death. The formalised single combat between two leaders is of course also present in the *Rolandslied* tradition (as well as in the *Eneasroman*), where it provides the climax to the description of battle or conflict.[214] In the *Alexanderlied* and in *Daniel*, however, the single combat between the two leaders does not end the battle; quite the contrary in *Daniel*,

[213] Hatto, 1982, 92, argues that some of the details which appear in the *Alexanderlied* may also have come from more general knowledge about elephants, in particular from corrupted reports about Oriental potentates. (See also Brummack, 1966, 134-35.)
[214] Wolfram, typically, breaks with tradition by interrupting the climactic single combat between Willehalm and Terramer and allowing the latter to flee the field (*Willehalm* 441,30-443,15).

as has previously been discussed.[215] The reactions of Porus's and Matur's armies to the death of their king are also very similar:

> nû sâhen si darnâch jagen
> ein küneclîche schar
> zwei tûsent ritter wol gar,
> die des tages solden
> und turnieren wolden,
> als in der künic Matûr gebôt.
> daz sie den gesâhen ligen tôt,
> des wart ir zorn manicfalt.
> sie gâhten für sich mit gewalt (*Daniel* 3072-79)

> Dô Poren here gesach,
> daz ir hêre tôt lach,
> si ne verzageten niwit umbe daz,
> si fâhten alle deste baz
> [...]
> dô hûb sich êrist der wîch (*Alexanderlied* 4688-96)

The battle against Porus, unlike the second battle against Darius, also ends in a manner similar to the battles in *Daniel*. Instead of fleeing, Porus's army eventually surrenders, overcome by losses and by sheer force of arms rather than by any one climactic event (*Alexanderlied* 4726-39). Porus's knights require assurances that their families will not be harmed before they will agree to surrender; the knights of Cluse demand no such reassurance. After the surrender, the dead of both armies are buried with honour (*Daniel* 5800-07, *Alexanderlied* 4740-55).

There are admittedly several details in the battle against Porus which are not present in any form in *Daniel*. The speeches of encouragement Porus makes to his men, and the challenge to single combat made by Alexander are two examples (*Alexanderlied* 4526-83, 4610-35). There is also some mention of more specific tactics than are found in *Daniel*: Porus (like Paligan in *Karl*) encourages his men to break through the Greeks' formation, which his army achieves after his death (*Alexanderlied* 4549, 4726). There is also reference to *scharen*, implying some form of division of the Greek army, although Lamprecht does not add any further detail. There is also a clear reference to the importance of the presence of a strong leader on the battlefield for the army's morale (*Alexanderlied* 4507-15).

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[215] The disparity in size between Porus and Alexander is reminiscent of the comparison of Dietrich and Pinabel in *Karl* (11783-85; 11813-31).

None of these elements of battle description are present in *Daniel*; however, taking both the second battle against Darius and the battle against Porus into consideration there are definite similarities between Lamprecht's style and Stricker's.

7.5.1.3 Imagery in the *Alexanderlied* battles

In the depiction of Alexander in combat Lamprecht makes use of imagery, in some cases very similar to the imagery Stricker uses to describe Artus, Daniel and other named characters in *Daniel*, although Lamprecht does not use the kind of extended similes and metaphors favoured by Stricker. Some of these images are common and found also in other works: one example is the description of the hero as having animal traits (*Alexanderlied* 2792-98).

Similar examples can be found in *Daniel*, in the description of the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe (*Daniel* 5131-32), and in *Karl*, where Gebewin is described as fighting like a wild boar faced by hounds (*Karl* 9833-42). This last image of a beast at bay, attacking the dogs, is remarkably similar to the *Alexanderlied* image previously mentioned, both in content and in structure:

...	von der grôzen beswærde
er hete grimmigen mût,	het er rehte die gebærde,
alse der zornige bere tût,	die der küene eber hât,
sô in die hunde bestân:	sô er vor den hunden stât.
swaz er ir mit den clâwen mach gevân,	die danne erreichet sîn zan
dar ane richet er sînen zorn.	die lât er sehen waz er kan.
(*Alexanderlied* 2792-98)	(*Karl* 9837-42)

This specific image does not appear in the *Rolandslied*; the closest is the description of Jocerans fighting 'sam der lewe' (*Rolandslied* 8222-23).

The depictions of Alexander in battle also include other images: Alexander cuts down his enemies like a thunderclap (*Alexanderlied* 1700-01, compare *Daniel* 5568-69), Alexander hews his way through his enemies as if he were cutting grass (*Alexanderlied* 1820-52), and whomever he strikes no longer eats bread (*Alexanderlied* 1708-10). There are not always direct parallels in *Daniel* for the *Alexanderlied* images, but the last image mentioned is an example of a type which Stricker frequently uses in *Daniel* as a metaphor for death: compare *Daniel* 3550-52 (whoever is struck by the king has no further need of a doctor); 3634-35 (whoever Daniel strikes never cries out for help again) and 5106-11 (whoever Parzival strikes, although warm,

becomes cold, and whoever he strikes becomes so poor that he loses his life, all his possessions, and his blood).

7.5.2 Other similarities

Aside from the battles, there are other similarities between the *Alexanderlied* and *Daniel*, in particular between the Artus/Matur conflict in *Daniel* and the conflict between Alexander and Darius in the *Alexanderlied*. Brall suggests that the war between Artus and Matur is undertaken for territorial reasons (Brall, 1976): Matur demands that Artus submit to his authority and agree to become his liegeman (*Daniel* 446-53). Likewise, in the *Alexanderlied*, the conflict begins when Alexander challenges Darius's right to extort tribute from Alexander's father Philip, and then from Alexander himself (*Alexanderlied* 467-506). Unlike Artus, Philip is already Darius's 'undertân' (*Alexanderlied* 472), but the situations are similar.[216]

Once the battles against Darius and his allies have finally been won, the conflict is brought to a close by a carefully arranged marriage, as in *Daniel*. Daniel marries Matur's widow, and Alexander marries Darius's daughter Roxane (*Alexanderlied* 3982-4057). In both cases, the marriage is purely a matter of putting an end to the enmity between two kingdoms; love plays no part (Moelleken, 1974, 49). This is particularly significant when compared with the marriage of Laudine and Iwein in Hartmann's *Iwein* (1537-92), considered to be Stricker's principal source for *Daniel*.

The setting of Stricker's *Daniel*, particularly the land of Cluse, is also in some ways reminiscent of the *Alexanderlied*. Although other Arthurian romances do refer to magical lands and to supernatural objects (such as the fountain in *Iwein* for example), there are several striking similarities between the lands described in the *Alexanderlied* and Matur's kingdom.

Cluse is a land surrounded by mountains, with guarded passes as the only entrance to the kingdom. Similarly, in the *Alexanderlied*, the city of Meroves, home to Queen Candacis and her

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[216] In lines 473-78 of the *Alexanderlied*, Darius is identified as one of the two kings seen as beasts in a dream by the prophet Daniel in the Bible (*Daniel* 8, v-viii). The fact that Stricker uses the name Daniel for the hero of his Arthurian romance may be coincidence, although Pingel suggests that the name Daniel is used to elicit a comparison between Stricker's hero and the Biblical prophet, since the Biblical Daniel was a noted exemplar of wisdom, courage and faith (Pingel, 1994, 39; 163-65, also Ragotzky, 1981, 69).

son Candalaus, is surrounded by cliffs or rocks (*Alexanderlied* 5511-16). In Candacis's palace there is a marvellous musical statue in the shape of a stag (*Alexanderlied* 6001-29). The resemblance between this musical statue and the 'goldenes tier' in *Daniel* (*Daniel* 740-56) is obvious, although Matur's statue serves a different purpose, and is powered by wind and water, rather than by bellows.[217]

Although many of the similarities between Stricker's *Daniel* and the *Straßburger Alexander* are minor, or can be put down to the fact that both texts draw on the same sources of knowledge (for example about the nature of elephants), the fact that Stricker explicitly cites the *Alexanderlied* in his prologue suggests a deliberate comparison with the earlier work. As to the similarity of the battle scenes in the two texts, this suggests that Stricker is drawing on the briefer style of combat depiction which comes from the earlier Latin versions of the Alexander tradition, rather than on the more detailed style which prevails in other literary traditions, as I have previously shown.[218] This briefer style of depiction is perfectly suited to a text in which mass combat is not the main focus.

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[217] The musical statue in the *Alexanderlied* does not appear in the Latin texts (see Brummack, 1966, 128). Other instances of similarities between the *Alexanderlied* and *Daniel* are the following: 1. Alexander wears a hauberk soaked in dragon's blood (*Alexanderlied* 1300-01) and a breastplate of 'horn' (*Alexanderlied* 1305); compare the mermaid's skin worn by the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe (*Daniel* 4038-48); 2. A magical bird (the *Fenix*) is described (*Alexanderlied* 5146-55); compare the *Babiane* (*Daniel* 550-74); 3. The enchanted lands are inhabited by giants (*Alexanderlied* 5070-87), and by maidens singing and playing musical instruments (*Alexanderlied* 5210-40); compare *Daniel* 410-29 and 665-73, 680-90; 4. Elephants draw a room or chamber on wheels (*Alexanderlied* 6100-13); compare *Daniel* 605-34.

[218] It is impossible to say whether Stricker was familiar with the Latin Alexander tradition, as well as with Lamprecht's version.

7.6 Imagery in the battles in *Daniel*

As noted above, the imagery Stricker uses in his depiction of battle in *Daniel* is both lengthier and more elaborate than that found in the *Alexanderlied*, or indeed in *Karl*. It is also in marked contrast to the down-to-earth language in which the rest of the text is written, and many of the images Stricker chooses to use appear baffling to the reader. Since it appears so prominently, and solely during the descriptions of battle, it is clearly of significance.[219]

This imagery appears during the mêlée phase of the first, second and fourth battles and is used to describe either the mêlée in general or the actions of Artus, Daniel and the other named knights.

List of metaphors used in the battle descriptions in *Daniel*:

1. A man in good armour is 'naked' (3099-101; 3450-51)
2. Artus's men wish to make their adversaries sell their lives (3440b-42, compare *Karl* 9991-93)
3. One seldom wins in a game already lost (3476-77). Nothing is at stake except life and honour; the greatest price is paid by those who gamble both away (3478-81)
4. Greetings and answers exchanged with swords (3504-5); insults exchanged with swords (3523-5)
5. Artus and his best knights create strange illustrations/decorations (perhaps referring to the marks left by their swords on their opponents' helmets, compare *Parzival* 756,1-6): whoever receives one falls dead (3534-39)
6. Artus and his knights as scribes with heavy pens: the letters they write can never be deleted (3542-47)
7. Artus and his knights wash their opponents until they show their whiteness (a metaphor for dying?) (3548-49)
8. Daniel as a blacksmith, creating two helms from one without the use of a fire; he cuts the helms in two (3626-33)
9. Daniel as hunter (beater), flushing souls from bodies (3645-50)
10. Daniel offers drugged cup to enemies, which causes them to sleep (metaphor for death) (3656-65)
11. Daniel gives jewel to enemies (3670-74)
12. Daniel as skilled carpenter who strikes without using a cord to mark the correct place (3690-93)[220]
13. Artus as 'plough' for his army (5054-57)
14. Gawein gives his enemies blessings (or casts spells on them), which are blows so hard that they cut through flesh and bone (5075-81)
15. Gawein sends the 'children' to sleep (5082-85)
16. Anyone struck by Parzival becomes destitute; they lose their blood, their lives and goods and everything God has given them (5106-11)
17. Parzival loads heavy burdens on his adversaries' backs (5114-16)
18. Graf von der Grüene Ouwe strikes his opponents so that the red sap springs from their helms (5156-57)
19. Graf von der Grüene Ouwe makes the healthy sick (5159-60)
20. Death is the steward overseeing the fight; he separates the dead from the living and makes men return to the fray when they would have preferred to leave (5161-74)
21. Artus, Daniel and the other knights offer medicine of death to anyone in their path (5244-46)

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[219] Böhm, 1995, 154, argues that the imagery used in *Daniel*, as in *Karl*, should not be taken to have any particular significance, stating of *Karl*: 'Eine Ironisierung des Geschehens kann ich nicht feststellen. Vielmehr glaube ich, daß einige der Formulierungen, die dann im DANIEL so viel Raum gewinnen, und die uns heute befremdlich erscheinen, und den Tötungsrausch in einem parodistischen Licht erscheinen lassen, durchaus ernstgemeinte Stilisierungsversuche sind.' I agree with this argument up to a point, but consider that it does not take sufficient account of the extent to which imagery is used in the *Daniel* battles.

[220] For discussion of these verses see Resler, 2003, 403-04. Schröder, 1985, 67, prefers a reading which presents Daniel as lacking skills as a carpenter.

22. Many leap into death (5520-21)
23. Many suddenly become old (5522-23)
24. Daniel pays tax to his opponents (5577-79)
25. Artus has salve on his hands; if he touches anyone with it, it spreads through their body and forces the soul out. This salve is his sword, with which he strikes them (5638-46)
26. The hardest greeting exchanged is death (5662-65)
27. Pledges are given (to Artus' knights), which endanger their lives (5673-75)

The metaphors used include metaphors on trading or buying and selling goods (2, 24), metaphors on everyday professions (6, 8, 9, 12), metaphors on sickness and medicine (10, 19, 25), metaphors on exchanging greetings (4, 26), on gambling (3) and on other topics. Metaphor 17 (5114-16) might have a Biblical source (compare Matthew 11, 28-30). The metaphors referring to Artus, Daniel or another named knight (8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25) and to Artus together with his knights (5, 6, 7, 21) are generally more unusual than those referring to the combatants in general or the general situation on the battlefield (1, 2, 3, 4, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27). Particularly striking are for instance the metaphor of Gawein 'sending the children to sleep' (5082-85)[221] and of Artus acting as a plough for his army (5054-57). By comparison, the image of combatants selling their lives (metaphor 2, 3440b-42) is commonly used. What the metaphors have in common is that they generally refer to everyday events, professions, or activities.

The metaphors used to describe Artus and his knights (either as a group or individually) in combat are almost exclusively positive: Stricker likens them to craftsmen – scribes, artists, doctors – or to artisans whose work is necessary to everyday life – smiths (see *Karl* 5124-26; *Rolandslied* 4118-19), farmers, carpenters or hunters. Only metaphors 16, 17 and 19 of this group can be described as negative. This is puzzling, given that these are all metaphors for killing.[222]

One slightly exceptional case is metaphor 20 (5161-74), in which Death plays the role of *griezwarte*, the judge or steward present at a judicial combat to oversee the fight and ensure that

[221] Resler translates 'kint' here as 'young men' who are fighting on the field, and who are 'hushed' by Gawein (Resler, 2003, 243). Hahn, however, reads the passage as I have done (Hahn, 1985, 192). The reference to 'weinen' (*Daniel* 5085) suggests a reference to children or infants.
[222] Hahn, 1985, 190-93, sees Stricker's use of metaphors in the battle scenes as 'zynisch', an attempt to declare his condemnation of violence through comparison with images of everyday life. She describes the metaphors as pictures of life being swallowed up by Death. I disagree with this reading, since I do not find that Stricker at any point in *Daniel* wholeheartedly condemns violence.

the rules are obeyed (see Resler, 2003, 407, note 193, and Hahn, 1985, 190, footnote 55). The reference to the *griezwarte* evokes associations with regulated combat, such as the judicial combat or the tournament (see footnote 192 for references at the start of the first, second and third battles to the daily tournaments in Cluse). However, during the battles there is no *griezwarte* but Death.

List of similes used in the battle descriptions in *Daniel*:

1. Shields/armour struck so that they crush like dust (3093). Daniel's sword cuts through armour as if through water (3675-80). Daniel's sword crushes all before it as if it were filled with dust (3812-3)
2. Steel burns like wood (3120-22)
3. Giant 'breaks' men like chickens (3191) (possibly suggesting the breaking of necks by wringing them)
4. Daniel cuts down opponents like mushrooms (3370)
5. Men become weak as hens but fight like wild boars (3512-13); many are as brave as wild boars (5185)
6. Artus and his knights charge like the wind (5039)
7. The lances breaking sound like an entire forest (5046-47)
8. The beating of swords on shields sounds like smiths beating on anvils (5048-51)
9. Artus cuts down enemies like a farmer clearing land for a field (5058-64)
10. Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe fights like a lion (5131-32)
11. Daniel's sword cuts like a lightning-bolt (5568-69)

Many of these similes are similar to those used frequently in *Karl*, for instance *Daniel* 3093, compare *Karl* 6166-67; *Daniel* 3120-22, compare *Karl* 6940-42, 6966-72; *Daniel* 3370, compare *Karl* 5494-95; *Daniel* 3512-13, compare *Karl* 5501-02. The image of steel burning (*Daniel* 3120-22) is almost a cliché of medieval battle description. However, other similes refer specifically to everyday activities: killing chickens (*Daniel* 3191, my interpretation), smithing (*Daniel* 5048-51, compare 3626-31) and clearing farmland (*Daniel* 5058-64).

7.6.1 Sources for the imagery: Wolfram and Hartmann

Although the use of imagery evoking everyday pursuits and objects is not generally found in *Karl*, it is a well-noted feature of Wolfram's writing. The battle-descriptions in *Willehalm* feature many instances of 'domestic' or peaceful activities, used, as M. H. Jones argues, to negate any impression of war as a glorious undertaking (see M. H. Jones, 1988, 68-69). Some of the imagery Wolfram uses is also found in Stricker's work, and particularly in *Daniel* (compare *Daniel* 3542-47 and *Parzival* 756,5, also *Daniel* 5054-57 and *Willehalm* 244,22 and *Daniel* 5673-75 and *Willehalm* 402,10-16).

Three images in *Daniel* in particular correspond very closely to images used in *Willehalm*. Wolfram, like Stricker, describes the sound of lances breaking as being like the sound of a whole forest being felled (see *Willehalm* 370,16-19; 372,12-13). Wolfram extends the image further in lines 389,26-390,8, where he comments that he would not want Poidwiz to be a forester because he destroyed the whole forest. However, Hartmann also makes use of the simile of a forest being blown down to describe lances breaking (see *Erec* 2609-12). Given that this simile appears in *Daniel*, *Erec* and *Willehalm* it is difficult to say precisely where it originated and how it was transmitted. It may be the case that this image was so frequently used as to be impossible to trace precisely.

Wolfram also uses the metaphor of the carpenter to describe two Saracen noblemen, one as a careful and skilled craftsman who knows that he must wait before striking with his precision tools (*Willehalm* 394,13-15) and one as an unskilled man who cannot follow the mark (*Willehalm* 394,18-19). The metaphor in *Daniel* is only slightly different; Daniel is a skilled carpenter because he works without a mark, striking hard with his axe (*Daniel* 3690-93). The image of Daniel cutting down his enemies like mushrooms (*Daniel* 3370) is also used by Wolfram (*Willehalm* 384,23-25).

The imagery in *Daniel* does then appear to echo *Willehalm* to some extent. However, some of Stricker's imagery is more elaborate than Wolfram's: see for example the following passage:

> mit vlîze er durch die helme swanc.
> er schancte einer hande tranc
> dâ was der twalm zuo getân.
> er wart es niemer erlân
> der es enbeiz, er müeze slâfen.
> daz tranc was sîn wâfen,
> der twalm was der tôt,
> der slâf daz was diu grôze nôt
> diu in dâ ze ligenne twanc
> dâ er âne sînen danc
> des suontages muose bîten. (*Daniel* 3655-65)

In this example there are three elements: the drink, the drug and the sleep it causes; and all three are explained fully: the drink is Daniel's sword, the drug is death and the sleep is the 'sleep' of the dead awaiting the Day of Judgement. This type of complicated metaphor, with exposition, is

not found in the battle depictions in *Karl* or *Willehalm*, but is used more than once in the *Daniel* battles (for example, metaphors 8, 15, 16, 20).

Rosenhagen suggests that Hartmann's style of metaphor might be the model for these longer, more complex metaphors, citing passages both from *Erec* and from *Iwein* (Rosenhagen, 1890, 98; see also Gürttler, 1976, 230, who notes metaphors from *Erec* (876-820) and *Iwein* (7147-227)). An example he gives is the following description of Enite:

schame tete ir ungemach.
diu rôsen varwe ir entweich,
nû rôt und danne bleich
wart si dô vil dicke
von dem aneblicke,
ze gelîcher wîse als ich iu sage:
als diu sunne in liehtem tage
ir schîn vil volleclîchen hât,
und gâhes dâ vür gât
ein wolken dünne und niht breit,
sô enist ir schîn niht sô bereit
als man in vor sach. (*Erec* 1711-22)

However, although Hartmann's image is certainly elaborate, he does not explain it for his audience in the same way that Stricker does his image of the drugged drink. In addition, this example from *Erec* is set during Enite's arrival at court, and not during the description of combat. Hartmann's romances contain very little material describing mass combat, with the exception of the tournament hosted by Artus, and no such lengthy imagery appears there. There is one example of a similar metaphor during the climactic combat between Erec and Mabonagrin (9112-17).

7.6.2 The function of the imagery

The imagery Stricker uses during the battle scenes in *Daniel*, then, includes both material which resembles imagery used by Hartmann and Wolfram and more unusual passages which seem to be Stricker's own invention. There is also a greater concentration of imagery in the *Daniel* battles than in any part of *Willehalm* or *Karl*, indeed, this imagery replaces the details of military organisation and tactics found in both of the other texts.

The lack of military and other detail, as previously noted, has a large effect on the tone of the battle descriptions in *Daniel*. In particular (see section 7.3.1.2), the lack of named characters prevents the audience from identifying with the combatants as individuals, and the descriptions

of the horrors of the battle, as previously mentioned, remain curiously impersonal. No named character dies during the course of the battles, and we are not even told how many are killed (although Stricker keeps a careful tally of fatalities in *Karl*, see section 6.4 above).

Stricker does of course give us repeated reports of the deeds of the few named characters during the battle, but is careful to avoid direct reference to killing wherever possible. Instead, he uses metaphor and simile to imply that Artus and his men are massacring their opponents, without ever saying so. The fact that almost all of the metaphors he chooses are positive, as previously established, and some are lengthy and involved, serves to distract the audience from what is really happening.

This impression is enhanced by the fact that, where it is not possible to avoid reference to killing, Stricker tends again to use indirect language:

> swen er traf, der schrei
> nâch hilfe nihte mêre. (3634-35)
>
> er wære denn in der helle,
> sô quam nieman in groezer nôt
> sô der dem er sîn swert bôt. (5558-60)

Stricker does use the verb 'slahen' and other variants frequently, but in many instances the sense is 'to strike' rather than 'to kill' (see 3596; 5101-03; 5507), often without an object. The verb 'erslahen' is used only four times during the battles, and on two occasions to indicate only a combatant's intention to kill his opponent (3278-81; 5220-21). On the other two occasions, the passive form is used (3837-40; 5183).[223]

Stricker also uses indirect reference to the individual knights involved in the battle in order to depersonalise his account, using the passive 'dâ wart niht vil geklaffet,/ez wart allez mit slegen geschaffet' (5527-28, see also 5539-41), as well as terms such as 'swer' and 'swelche' (3550-52; 5586-88; 5592-93; 5621-22), 'der' (3099-3101; 3450-51; 5224-56) and 'manger':

> sie begunden mangen tôt legen
> den sie âne wunden valten
> und im sô starke erschalten
> durch den helm daz houbet,
> daz er wart betoubet
> und tôt viel ûf daz gras. (3444-49).

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[223] *slahen* as a transitive verb (including *zerslahen* and *abslahen*) is used 21 times during the battle descriptions. The object is either the opponent or his helm/armour. *slahen* as an intransitive verb appears 13 times, implying striking blows rather than actually killing or wounding. By comparison, *tôt* (including other forms, e.g. *die tôten*, *dem tôde*) appears 29 times.

At the same time, Stricker slows down (one might even say 'clogs up') his battle descriptions through the repeated use of rhetorical devices in general, including anaphora as well as the imagery discussed above:

> er wære junc oder alt,
> er wære swach oder starc,
> er wære milte oder karc,
> er wære gewâfent oder blôz,
> er wære wenic oder grôz,
> er wære kurz oder lanc,
> er wære swarz oder blanc,
> er wære tump oder wîs,
> er hæte laster oder prîs,
> er wære lugnære oder wârhaft,
> küene oder zaghaft,
> er wære snel oder laz,
> ez wart ir keinem erboten baz,
> er wære herre oder kneht, (5248-61, see also 5182-85; 5200-02; 5490-91; 5546-47; 5602-05).

The style in which he chooses to describe his battles works counter to the material being described, and distracts the audience from the substance of his narrative.[224]

The imagery in the *Daniel* battles, then, along with Stricker's other choices of vocabulary, has a dual function: first, to demonstrate the ferocity of the combat and the skill of his named protagonists, and second, to distance his named protagonists from their actions through the use of metaphor and of depersonalising language, thereby also distancing his audience emotionally from the battle. The overall style of the battle depictions, with its use of lengthy imagery and repetition, distracts the audience intellectually from the scene. Unlike in *Karl*, in *Daniel* Stricker clearly does not intend his audience to invest emotionally or intellectually in the details of the battle or the fate of the combatants.

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[224] Kühnemann (1970) examines the use of metaphor and hyperbole in medieval German literary depictions of battle, in particular in *Willehalm*, as a type of 'Kriegersprache' common in tone (if not in detail) to all societies of fighting men. He notes metaphors surrounding the striking of blows and the spilling of blood from the *Rolandslied*, and also the use of metaphor and simile drawing on everyday existence, as in *Daniel*. Kühnemann suggests that this 'Kriegersprache' is used to distance the speaker from the combat itself.

7.7 The role of the battles in *Daniel*

I have established above that the battles in *Daniel* differ from those in *Karl* both structurally and stylistically, and that the *Daniel* battles cannot be said to draw on the battles described by Konrad and Wolfram as a result of the fundamental differences between them. The most likely literary source for the style of the battles in *Daniel* has been identified as the *Alexanderlied*, in which battle descriptions are considerably briefer and less detailed than Konrad's or Wolfram's.

A further reason to suggest the *Alexanderlied* as a possible source is the fact that the battles in this text play a much smaller part in the text than do the battles of Roncevals and Aliscans (Lienert, 2000, 32, 36). In addition, Alexander, like Daniel, is a figure marked out not only by his prowess, but also by his intelligence and use of *list*, and in both texts, *list* plays an important role throughout, being used both in battle tactics and in individual encounters.

The battles in *Daniel* are indeed closely connected to the central conflict of the text: the dispute between Artus and Matur which sets in motion all the other events described. The battles are provoked by the single combat between the two monarchs, and are an extension of this encounter in the same way that the second battle in *Karl* is an adjunct to the single combat between Karl and Paligan. However, it is far from clear that the battles themselves actually resolve the conflict as in *Karl*, since the final victory is gained not by strength of arms, but by a *list* devised by Daniel. What then is the role of the battles in *Daniel*, and how does it relate to the concepts of *list* and *wîsheit* to which Stricker attaches such importance? To answer this question, we must first establish what roles *list* and *wîsheit* play in the text.

7.7.1 *List* and *wîsheit*

Swer gerne allez daz vernimt
daz guoten liuten wol gezimt,
der wirt es selten âne muot,
unz er der werc ein teil getuot.
swer aber den worten ist gehaz,
der ist ze den werken dicke laz.
[...]
hie wil der Strickære
mit worten ziehen sîn kunst (1-17)

In the prologue to *Daniel*, Stricker reveals the purpose of his work to be as much to instruct his audience as to entertain.[225] By hearing or reading descriptions of virtuous behaviour, the audience is to be inspired to virtuous acts.

Although Stricker's primary source for *Daniel* has long been established as Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*,[226] Stricker deviates substantially from the model of the Arthurian romance presented by Hartmann or indeed by Wolfram (see again Kern, 1974; Rosenhagen, 1890) and, in consequence, the 'message' of *Daniel* differs considerably from that of the earlier romances. As previously noted, whereas in the earlier romances the hero (and by extension, the audience) learns from his mistakes, overcomes his disgrace and achieves a state of perfection, Stricker's hero suffers no disgrace (Ragotzky, 1977; Kern, 1974, 31). Daniel appears at Artus's court as a perfect knight, the equal of Artus's finest. Throughout the work, Daniel's behaviour is exemplary, and at the end, he is lauded and rewarded with lands and a marriage. We are intended to learn from Daniel's successes, not his failures.[227]

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[225] See Brall, 1976; Müller, 1981, 32; Pingel, 1994, 41 and 178; Gürttler, 1976, 835; Schneider, 1994, 124; Ragotzky, 1981, 46-48.

[226] See in particular Kern, 1974 and Schneider, 1994, 125-78. Reisel, however, warns against too great a focus on *Iwein*: 'Als gefährlich für die Entwicklung neuer Beurteilungskriterien für den *Daniel* scheint sich ein allzu starkes Augenmerk auf die Epik Hartmann von Aues zu erweisen' (Reisel, 1981, 3).

[227] Pingel notes in particular the references in *Daniel* to a series of exemplary figures from Antiquity, to whom the hero is compared. These comparisons are implicit; for example, Stricker does not actually mention the name of Perseus at any point during the *âventiure* of the Liehten Brunnen, yet Daniel's use of the mirror to avoid being killed by the magical head is clearly recognisable as a version of the Greek hero's slaying of the Gorgon (see *Daniel* 2075-134, also Pingel, 1994, 186). Odysseus's encounter with the Sirens is also clearly echoed both in the Grüenen Ouwe episode and in Daniel's advice to Artus's men to stop their ears before the final day of battle. Stricker's Daniel can generally be compared in wisdom to his Biblical namesake (Pingel, 1994, 40). Both Pingel and Ragotzky suggest that Stricker, by including his citation from Lamprecht's *Alexander*, is implying that Alexander too is an exemplary figure whose behaviour is to be compared with that of Daniel (see Pingel, 1994, 172: 'Durch die Übernahme der Quellenberufung aus Lamprechts "Alexander" soll also offenbar die Exempelfigur Alexanders des Grossen evoziert werden', and Ragotzky, 1981, 50-52). This certainly seems possible, given that Alexander does appear to have been used by the writers of exempla, primarily as an example of wisdom or cunning; see Ross, 1985; Cary, 1956; Semmler, 1991, 10. It should, however, be noted that Alexander did not always appear in a favourable light, being often portrayed as an example of *superbia* or hubris (see Schröder, 1961, 38-55). Cary comments that there appear to have been two conflicting theological views on Alexander; Lamprecht's version is more hostile than Alberic's, but the *Straßburger Alexander* tones down this hostility considerably (Cary, 1991, 171-72). Ragotzky suggests that Stricker chose Alexander as the primary exemplary figure to whom Daniel is compared precisely because of his ambivalent stature; he embodies the characteristic of *list*, a highly ambivalent quality as is discussed below. Ragotzky argues that Alexander's own use of *list* is also ambivalent (Ragotzky, 1981, 50-52).

At the same time, however, Stricker gives us a second 'hero' from whose behaviour we are expected to learn: Artus himself, and by extension, his court and vassals.[228] Nevertheless, Artus and his court are of secondary importance, and the focus remains primarily on Daniel. This is evident in a variety of ways: first, when Daniel leaves the court, the narrator mentions almost nothing of what happens in his absence. Secondly, although Artus and his knights do take an active part in the text (de Boor, 1957, 68), they take part only in one full *âventiure* – the conflict with Cluse – while Daniel undertakes three, not to mention his combats against the first giant and the ensorcelled Graf von der Grünen Ouwe. Thirdly, and most tellingly, wherever the two strands of the narrative (the Daniel strand and the Artus strand) converge, it is as a result of Daniel's actions, not of those of Artus and his court.[229] It is Daniel, in short, who provides the impetus for the narrative, and not Artus. Hence, the virtues to which Stricker gives the most importance are to be found principally in the figure and actions of Daniel, and these virtues include, prominently, *list* and *wîsheit*.

7.7.1.1 *List / wîsheit*

Many studies on *Daniel* – if not the majority – attach great importance to the concept of *list*, which is a major theme in almost all of Daniel's encounters.[230] *List* is an ambivalent concept in medieval German literature (see Zotz, 1999, 234-37). In modern German, 'List' and 'listig' are generally negative terms, with stronger negative connotations present in the related 'Hinterlist' and 'Arglist', but in Middle High German the term could have either positive or negative meanings. The term *wîs* or *wîsheit*, on the other hand, appears to have had purely positive connotations, being conceivably the equivalent of the terms *sapientia* and/or *prudentia* (see Scheidweiler, 1941, 184-233). Semmler notes that in medieval literature there is no concept of

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[228] Müller-Ukena (1984) concentrates mainly on the depiction of Artus, as compared to Matur.
[229] See Moelleken/Henderson, 1973, 195, and Böhm, 1995, 174, for tables illustrating the the two strands of the narrative in *Daniel*. Böhm's table is the more detailed. See also Böhm's comment 'Das Schema zeigt, wie der Protagonist zwischen diesen beiden Ebenen hin- und herspringt, wobei sich die âventiuren, die er "nebenher" besteht, immer auf sein Handeln in der Hauptebene auswirken' (Böhm, 1995, 173).
[230] Among these studies are in particular Pingel, 1994, Schneider, 1994, and Ragotzky, 1981 and 1977. Other studies which have focused on the motif of *list* in *Daniel* include Agricola, 1955, who suggests that *list* in *Daniel* is synonymous with the Dominican virtue of *prudentia*, and Hahn, 1985, who examines the relationship between *list* and *kraft* in *Daniel*. Brall, 1984, 110, notes that *list* in *Daniel* 'wird zur Richtschnur erfolgreichen Verhaltens'.

intelligence which is not connected to ethics (Semmler, 1991, 13), which implies that any term used to denote intelligence also implies an ethical or moral judgement on the kind of intelligence being portrayed.

Semmler defines *list* in the following manner:

> Anwenden eines Mittels mit der Intention, jemanden, den man für einen Gegner hält, über einen tatsächlichen Sachverhalt zu täuschen. Der Gegner soll so dazu gebracht werden, seine persönliche Einstellung in einer bestimmten Frage zu ändern oder etwas zu tun, was seinen unterstellten Interessen zuwiderläuft (Semmler, 1991, 32).

The ethical problem lies, then, in the fact that the victim of the *list* is deceived, and in deciding to what extent this deception can be condoned. Augustine's teaching held that any deception was sinful, but theological views were divided on this point (Semmler, 1991, 15); hence the ambivalence of the motif of *list* in the literature of the time.[231] The same ambivalence surrounds the Old French equivalent of *list*, *engin* (see Hanning, 1977, 105).[232]

In his section on the depiction of *list* in Stricker's texts, Semmler notes that Stricker is clearly aware of the ambivalence of this particular quality, and that he establishes the exact circumstances surrounding and the results of each use of *list*: 'Eine genaue Textanalyse erweist, daß der Stricker unter allen Umständen dem Eindruck entgegentreten will, man dürfe durch kluges oder gar listiges Handeln materielle Güter erwerben' (Semmler, 1991, 21; see also Agricola, 1955, 216). In *Daniel* in particular, the hero only accepts the final reward offered to him by Artus because it has been achieved as much by 'außerordentliche Tapferkeit' as by intellect (Semmler, 1991, 15). Semmler also notes that Stricker makes frequent reference to the fact that Daniel resorts to *liste* only where they are indispensible to save his life (see also Birkhan, 1994, 377). It should also not be forgotten that Daniel's *liste* generally fall into the category of 'Kriegeslisten' (see Brummack, 1966, 74-75), which were generally viewed as acceptable 'dissimulatio' (Zotz, 1999, 235).

As I have already shown, *list* is of crucial importance in the series of *âventiure* against the three 'monsters': Juran, the 'bûchlose valant' and the 'sieche'; it is also crucial in the

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[231] Dornseiff (1944) rejects the idea that the term *kunst* became more widely used because of a generally negative view of the term *list*.

[232] Nevertheless, in *Brut* Wace encourages the use of *engin*: 'La vaut engins ou force falt' (Hanning, 1977, 106).

'Riesenvater' episode, where simple courage or prowess is useless. To understand precisely which virtue Stricker means, we must look at his long excursus in the 'Riesenvater' episode:

Swer iht guote liste kan,
den solde wîp unde man
gerne êren deste baz.
ein man tuot mit listen daz
daz tûsent niht entæten,
swie grôze kraft si hæten.
daz merket an dem alten:
möhte er sich hân behalten,
er hæte in dâhin getragen
dâ in unhelfelîchez klagen
niemer niht vervienge.
sô er mit listen gienge,
sô hæte ir kraft ungenist.
dô was diz ein nûtze list
den her Daniel begie,
daz in diu juncfrouwe vie
sô sanfte in disem netze.
swer die rede letze,
den hât für ein tumben man:
der rehte guote liste kan,
ez sî from und êre.
ez hazzet manger sêre
daz man lernet guotiu dinc
und sprichet als ein snürrinc,
man müge zuo vil kunnen.
der ist niht sô versunnen
daz er habe der witze gunst.
kunde ein man alle kunst
die got ûf aller erden
ie geschuof und hiez werden,
waz kunde im daz geschaden?
swer mit wîsheit ist geladen,
daz ist ein lîhtiu bürde.
ich wæne ie dehein last würde
den man sô sanfte trüege.
er ist grôz und doch gevüege.
Swer kunst unde wîsheit
beidiu in sîn vaz leit,
der mac wol haben unde geben.
sol er tûsent jâr leben,
swaz er darûz gelæren kan,
ez wirt dâvon niemer wan.
er mac wol geben swem er wil,
und doch ie gelîche vil.
ist er rehte gemuot,
beidiu êre unde guot
erwirbet im diu fuoge,
darzuo friunde genuoge.
wære ein man sô getân
daz er wol mohte hân
die schoene Absalônes,
die sterke Samsônes,
wære er ein tôre dâbî,
sône möhten sîn drî
einem man gelîchen niht
den man in schoenen zühten siht.
waz sol ein sô getâner man
der weder guot noch übel kan?

ez ist bezzer des frumen muot,
kan er übel unde guot.
er lêret in die beidiu wol
waz er mîden und tuon sol. (7487-548)

Stricker begins by praising those who know how to use 'guote liste', using the father of the giants as a negative example; had he controlled himself, the father of the giants would have overpowered Daniel in the same way as he did Artus and Parzival, and all the strength of Artus's knights would have availed them nothing (7493-503). Secondly, Stricker moves on to the themes of *kunst* and *wîsheit*, arguing that it is not possible to have too much of either. Lastly, Stricker introduces the concept of the state of *rehte gemuot*, emphasising the point that only a man who, through intelligence, knows the difference between good and evil can hope to distinguish between them in his actions. Stricker's reasoning is clear: a man who uses *liste* demonstrates *wîsheit*, and *wîsheit* allows him to determine right from wrong; if the man is *rehte gemuot*, he will use this faculty to aid him to do good, and will achieve honour, wealth and friendship. It is plain that this process is exemplified in the figure of Daniel and in the results of his actions.

The primary virtues of *kunst* and *wîsheit*, exemplified in Daniel, are recognised by other characters (2348-50, 5330-35), as well as being expressed in Daniel's actions during the course of the narrative. Reisel and Pingel both remark on the way in which Daniel weighs up the alternative courses of action during his monologues,[233] and Pingel also notes the way in which Daniel is forced to use his *wîsheit* to resolve encounters which become steadily more perilous as the narrative progresses (Pingel, 1994, 304). Ragotzky sees Daniel's use of *list* not only as trickery, but as strategic action (Ragotzky, 1977, 193), and vital to the process of just governance (Ragotzky, 1977, 194). However, as Semmler notes (Semmler, 1991, 15), Daniel does not rely on *liste* alone to defeat his enemies; during the course of the battles his prowess is repeatedly praised and his combat against the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe is a knightly contest of strength against strength (with the magical weapons and armour cancelling each other out).

[233] Reisel, 1981, 27-40, sees in Daniel's monologues borrowings from the traditions of scholastic debate, in particular the concept of considering all the arguments pro and contra in any given situation. Pingel, 1994, 165, on the other hand, disagrees with this argument on the grounds that this particular model of debate is commonly used and does not provide sufficient proof that the monologues are based on any scholastic/theological tradition.

Clearly, Daniel shares the virtues of Artus's other knights, which include, principally, skill and prowess in combat. What is the relationship between these 'traditional' Arthurian values, and the 'new' virtue of *wîsheit*?

Hahn suggests that in *Daniel* Stricker is actively criticizing the virtues of the 'traditional' Arthurian knight in comparison with a new set of values (Hahn, 1985, 174; see also de Boor, 1957, 73). Cramer suggests that *wîsheit* in Stricker's works, particularly in the figure of Pfaffe Âmîs, should be considered as a specifically 'bourgeois' quality,[234] and Könneker sees Stricker as driven by a 'spezifisch antihöfischer Impuls', which in *Daniel* manifests itself in 'eine Reihe eindeutig parodistischer Elemente [...], die gegen das spezifisch ritterliche Ethos gerichtet waren' (Könneker, 1970, 246). In common with Ragotzky (1977, 195), I tend to disagree with these arguments. First, although *wîsheit* is not one of the virtues specifically showcased in Hartmann's or Wolfram's work, this does not mean that it is a non-knightly or bourgeois quality (Brall, 1976, 223). Zotz (1999) discusses the value placed on the quality of 'Listigkeit' specifically by medieval aristocracies. Second, although Daniel does use *liste*, it is, as previously mentioned, in cases where simple strength of arms will not avail.[235]

7.7.1.2 *kraft / manheit*

Both the role of the battles in the structure of the text and their effect on the events of the narrative have been discussed by various commentators, often in the light of the concepts of *list* and *wisheit*; Hahn in particular sees the battles as an illustration of the pointlessness of violence and knightly prowess.[236] To my mind, this is too simplistic a judgement. To understand the full

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[234] Cramer, 1974, 126: 'Der Held ist ein Geistlicher, seine einzige Waffe ist die *wîsheit*, die – sicher mit Recht – immer wieder als spezifisch bürgerliche Tugend apostrophiert worden ist.'

[235] As an example of the relationship between *list* and *kraft*, see the death of the second giant. Gawein's cunning suggestion to blind the giant is successful, but only up to a point. The giant continues to wreak havoc among Artus's knights until Daniel weighs in with the old-fashioned solution (3781-824). Other commentators also disagree with Hahn's theory that *list* replaces *kraft* in *Daniel*; see for example Müller, 1981, 21: 'Kraft steht nicht in Antithesis zur Klugheit, es wird auf sie auch nicht völlig verzichtet, sondern sie nimmt lediglich eine untergeordnete Stellung im Handlungsgeschehen ein'. Pingel, 1994, 126, points out that Hahn's article is the only study which suggests that *list* and *kraft* do not co-exist in *Daniel*.

[236] Hahn, 1985, 193: 'Es scheint deshalb gerechtfertigt, die Aussageintention der Kampfmetaphern in Daniel als bewußt anzunehmen, wobei sich als Metaphernstand die Kategorie des Zynischen anböte. Das in ihm verschlüsselte Urteil des Dichters über den Wert der ritterlichen Tat wäre dann mit dem unverschlüsselten grundsätzlich gleichlautend.'

relevance of the battles in *Daniel*, we must first consider whether, given the circumstances, they could have been avoided.

The battles between Artus's and Matur's armies in *Daniel* are the result and an extension of the quarrel between the two kings as individuals, and as such are driven by the two kings' actions. Matur is the clear aggressor in that he sends his messenger to Artus's court to demand Artus's allegiance. Not only does the giant deliver Matur's message, but he is, by his very nature, both a threat and a weapon against Artus. The giant makes it very clear that Artus's knights will not be able to prevent his taking Artus by force to Matur (790-804). Matur is making Artus an offer he cannot refuse.[237]

Given both the insult to Artus's status and the impossibility of declining Matur's summons, Artus's response is the only one possible: he summons his friends and allies and sets off to meet Matur's force with his own. Artus can only maintain his honour and his kingship by taking the fight to his enemy.

On his arrival in Cluse, Artus meets his opponent face-to-face, and defeats him in single combat. It could be argued that, had Artus at this point not killed Matur, the battles could have been averted and a peaceful solution found. However, it is clear that Matur gives Artus no opportunity to spare his life, since he does not even speak to him (see Pingel, 1994, 229-30).[238]

By extension, the only outcome for Artus's and Matur's armies is battle. The first battle is inevitable, as Matur's first army arrives in time to see his demise (3072-81). The second and third battles, too, are inevitable, as Artus and his companions are now committed to defeating the forces of Cluse or facing their revenge. The fourth and climactic battle is against all the remaining men of Cluse, desperate both to avenge their king and to protect their lands and

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[237] Böhm, 1995, 178, suggests that Artus later lies when telling Matur's widow that the giant has taken him as a captive to Cluse. This, to my mind, is incorrect; although Artus is not physically captured by the giant he has no way of refusing to accompany him. Artus is indeed 'captive', in that he cannot escape Matur's challenge.

[238] There is a parallel here with Daniel's combat against Juran; after Daniel has taken possession of the dwarf's sword he offers him mercy three times, but the dwarf remains silent (1721-26). Hartmann and Wolfram also address this issue in the combats between Erec and Mabonagrin (*Erec* 9316-23) and Gawein and Lischoys (*Parzival* 542,23-543,8). In both cases, the defeated opponent specifically asks the hero to kill him, thereby opening a dialogue during the course of which an agreement is reached (Green, 1978, 210). In *Daniel*, neither Matur nor Juran (nor indeed the bewitched Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen) speaks at the crucial moment, so there is no opportunity to open a dialogue.

families. Again, Artus has no option but to fight or to face annihilation. It is only Daniel's *list* that prevents both armies from fighting to extinction.

It is obvious that the battles in *Daniel* are the direct result of Matur's actions, and that, once Matur's giant messenger has uttered his threat, there is no avoiding the consequences. During the reconciliation, there is universal agreement among Danise's advisers that Artus's actions were completely justified:

'der künic Artûs hât reht,
darumbe ist im gelungen.' (6074-75)

It should also be noted that even the father of the giants, at first bitterly hostile to Artus over the death of his sons, immediately acknowledges Artus's innocence once informed of the real course of events (7733-37). Even those most injured by Artus's war against Cluse recognise its inevitability and exonerate him.[239]

At the same time, however, it is clear that all who are involved also regret the conflict between the two kingdoms and wish to make amends for the losses suffered by the kingdom of Cluse. Both the inevitability of the conflict and the regret for its outcome are most clearly expressed by Artus himself:

'wan daz mich iuwer herre hât
getwungen ûf sînen tôt,
ich enhæte im nie kein nôt
getân in sînem lande.
nû dûhte mich diz ein schande
ob ich mich ze manne hæte ergeben
sô ich frîlîche möhte leben.
mich erbarmet iuwer riuwe.
nû lât ez in mîne triuwe
und vergebet mir mîne schulde.
[...]
ich wil daran kêren
alle die sinne die ich ie gewan,
daz ich iuwern schaden und iuwern man
nâch iuwern sælden erstaten.' (6152-67)

Both Artus and Daniel make strenuous efforts to make good the wrongs they have, unwillingly, done Danise and her people. The marriage of Daniel to Danise, although a wise political move, is also motivated by a desire to recompense Danise for her loss. Daniel's arrangement of the

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[239] Both Brall and Pingel affirm the injustice of Matur's challenge, and the fact that Artus's actions are undertaken only in self-defence. See Brall, 1976, 238: 'Im Kampf der Könige Artus und Matur wird im übergeordneten Rahmen über das entschieden, was Daniel auf seinen *âventiuren* gleichsam nebenbei erkämpft, nämlich die Restitution des Rechtszustandes'. See also Pingel, 1994, 216-17.

mass weddings is likewise designed to recompense the women of Cluse who have also lost husbands as much as to ensure that Daniel's companions share in his good fortune and to forge alliances between Cluse and Britanje.

Daniel also seeks to recompense the inhabitants of Cluse by arranging lavish festivities (6371-87). Again, this is intended to consolidate his position as a new ruler, but additionally to make amends for the sorrows they have just undergone. Daniel is determined that Cluse will not be any less a land of marvels as a result of Matur's death.[240]

The battles in *Daniel* are seen then by those who take part in them and by those who are affected by them as regrettable, but inevitable. In *Daniel* Stricker does not glorify mass combat, but depicts it as a necessary evil, to be avoided if possible.[241]

7.7.1.3 The role of *list* in resolving the conflict

ein man tuot mit listen daz
daz tûsent niht entæten,
swie grôz kraft sie hæten. (7490-92)

This observation, made by Stricker during the episode of the father of the giants, holds the key to understanding *Daniel*. Not only is this observation exemplified in all of Daniel's *âventiure*, but it also encapsulates Daniel's quasi-miraculous resolution of the conflict between Britanje and Cluse. However, we must be careful to understand exactly what it is that Daniel achieves with his *list* at the beginning of the fifth day of battle.

Schröder comments: 'Man wundert sich, warum der listige Daniel seinem König nicht längst zu diesem todsicheren Rezept geraten hatte, wenn schon dieser und seine für Technik und Taktik gleich unbegabten Paladine nicht von selber darauf gekommen waren' (Schröder, 1986,

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[240] Müller-Ukena, 1984, 40, sees the daily tournaments in Cluse in a rather negative light, remarking on the 'streng reglementiertes Leben' in Cluse. Ragotzky, 1981, 62, describes the tournaments as 'steril' compared to the Arthurian knights' *âventiure*. However, at the end of the text we are told specifically that Daniel reinstates and affirms the tournament practice (*Daniel* 8459-68). It would seem, therefore, that Stricker presents the daily tournaments as a positive rather than a negative phenomenon (Cluse is a knight's paradise, where festivities, sport and training are daily events), see Birkhan, 1994, 375-76, Böhm, 1995, 180, footnote 23.

[241] By extension, this also explains why in the combat against Juran Daniel is prepared to show mercy, and why in his only serious single combat against another human opponent (the Graf von der Grüenen Ouwe) Daniel allows his opponent to live. Except for those whom he kills in battle, Daniel only kills monstrous opponents. Even in the case of the father of the giants, Stricker places Daniel in a situation which must be resolved *without* killing his opponent.

823). Were Daniel to have hit upon his *list* at the very start of the conflict, one might argue that the battles might have been averted. This, however, would have been unlikely to succeed, for the very reasons that Artus himself could not achieve a peaceful resolution. All the evidence suggests that Matur would not have been prepared to surrender to Artus. Likewise, had Daniel overcome the first army by using the magical statue to deafen them, Artus and his companions would still have had to overcome six further armies, and would swiftly have been outnumbered. Daniel's *list* could not have prevented battle completely; all that it can achieve is a forced peace before one or both sides are completely annihilated. This peace can only be achieved once Cluse's entire force is on the field.

In *Daniel*, then, Stricker is not suggesting that *list* can prevent conflict and violence altogether, but that, if it is used wisely and for good motives, it can produce a better outcome than one achieved by force alone – especially since the knights of Cluse are innocent of any wrong-doing.[242] Daniel's quick thinking forces all of Cluse's defenders to surrender at one fell swoop, which is something that Artus's thousands, for all their force, could never achieve.

7.7.1.4 The role of the battles in resolving the conflict

Having established, then, that it is not the battles that bring about the resolution of the conflict between Artus and Matur in *Daniel*, it remains to be established why, in this case, Stricker expends as much time describing them as he does. Why, indeed, does Stricker depart from the style of Hartmann and Wolfram and include battles in his romance at all?

In the case of the single combats in *Daniel*, Stricker shows his audience how force, although necessary in many situations, can sometimes be of no use in resolving the conflict at hand. This is apparent especially in the combats against monsters, and finds its clearest

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[242] Stricker clearly sees the battles in *Daniel* as destructive, but unavoidable; indeed, as Pingel, 1994, 137, argues: 'Der "Daniel" plädiert ganz entschieden für die aktive Bewältigung von Konflikten'. See also 273-74: 'Die offene Kritik des Erzählers – sonst eher selten – an der Brutalität des Geschehens (nicht der Personen!) ist nicht als endgültige Verabschiedung des *kraft*-Ethos, sondern als Relativierung von Gewalt-Handeln zu verstehen. *Kraft* ist zwar das in der gegebenen Situation einzig erfolgreiche und von daher auch angemessene Mittel der Auseinandersetzung, dennoch erfährt sie keine uneingeschränkt positive Beurteilung.'

expression in Daniel's encounter with the father of the giants. *List*, together with a gift for diplomacy, is needed to persuade Daniel's opponent to release Artus.

In the same way, in his depiction of the battles, Stricker recognises that the use of force is not the only method to resolve the conflict, but that it is still required nonetheless. Both in the single combats and in the battles, force is still used – it is not superseded. Nevertheless, in both cases, *list* is required to produce the best outcome for all concerned. The inclusion of battles in *Daniel* serves to illustrate this fact more clearly: 'ein man tuot mit listen daz / daz tûsent niht entæten, / swie grôze kraft si hæten' (7490-92).

7.8 Battles in *Daniel*: Summary

The battles in *Daniel*, as we have seen, are not the main focus of the the text as they are in *Karl*. Stricker deliberately chooses a style of battle description that features very little of the detail seen in *Karl*, the *Rolandslied* or *Willehalm*; instead, the *Daniel* battles more closely resemble those depicted in the *Alexanderlied*, another text in which the battles are not of central importance and in which the audience is distanced emotionally from the details of the mêlée. He likewise omits reference to individual combatants other than Artus, Daniel and a handful of other important figures, and includes little direct reference to killing. Added to this, Stricker uses elaborate simile and metaphor to distract his audience from the battles. The overall impression is that the battles, although they involve great loss of life, are not of great significance; nothing happens during their course that affects the rest of the plot, except for the fact that Artus and his knights gain the victory.

Even this victory, as we have seen, although dependent on Artus's having subdued at least some of Matur's armies by force, is ultimately not brought about by battle, but instead by Daniel's use of *list*. As with the single combats, Stricker includes the battles in his text but does not allow them to play the role which they play in *Karl* or *Willehalm*. The battles in *Daniel* are neither central to the narrative, nor do they resolve its crisis. In the same way as it is Daniel who is the main focus of the text, it is also Daniel's actions (primarily *liste*) and qualities (primarily *wîsheit*) to which Stricker attaches the greatest importance.

8. Conclusion

Comparative study of the depiction of combat in Stricker's *Karl der Grosse* and *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* is enlightening on several different levels, and suggests a range of possibilities for future research into the depiction of combat in medieval texts. The methodology used in this study (the identification of individual motifs and the construction of a combat scheme both for the single combat and for depictions of battle) has allowed for a detailed investigation of differences of style and tone both within and between the two texts, as well as enabling more thorough research into the literary sources for Stricker's descriptions of combat than has hitherto been possible. Given the centrality of combat to medieval German narrative literature, there is clearly no shortage of other material to which the 'combat scheme' methodology could be applied, in both the epic and the romance traditions.

The identification of individual motifs in the depiction of combat also assists in a comparison of literary depictions of combat with records of actual martial practice, such as the judicial combat and the tournament. In the first case, the careful identification of key elements has provided a clearer understanding of what constitutes a judicial combat as opposed to other types of juridical combat, and of the extent to which the practice is actually echoed in literary works. In the second case, recognition of details of the tactics and disposition of forces in the tournament (as well as on the battlefield) has assisted in highlighting those motifs used in literary depictions of battle that can be said to demonstrate some degree of realism.

The investigation of the depictions of combat in *Karl* and *Daniel* has produced insight not only into those sections of the texts in which combat is described, but also into the ethos of each text as a whole. In particular, it has highlighted the complexity and the contradictions of *Daniel*, especially compared to *Karl*. Both in the structure of its combat depictions and in what it has to say about the role and function of combat, *Daniel* is by far the more adventurous text.

The single combats in *Karl* all underline the fundamental conflict between Christians and Saracens, and the concept of the Holy War. Certain motifs play a crucial part in establishing this conflict, especially the verbal exchanges (challenges or taunts before and during the combat (Motifs F, G and U), the taunting of the fallen opponent (Motif AG), the taunting of the

onlookers (Motif AH) and their reaction (Motif AI)). The final and unquestioned victory of the Christians is prefigured in Stricker's emphasis on Christian victories in single combat. Christian success is sealed by the victory of Karl over Paligan, and the justice of Karl's cause proved in the judicial combat between Dietrich and Pinabel.

The battles in *Karl* too embody and demonstrate the conflict between the two forces, and the ultimate victory of the Christians. The first battle is made up of a series of engagements which mirror the result of the entire battle (moral and spiritual victory for the Christians, who have achieved martyrdom, together with physical victory, since they destroy the greater part of Marsilie's army, which is then forced to flee the field). The second battle, which is depicted much more briefly, is designed to lead up to the climactic single combat between Karl and Paligan, in which the theme of the victory of good over evil is triumphantly restated.

Neither the single combats nor the battles in *Karl* differ from those in Stricker's source, the *Rolandslied*, to any great extent, but Stricker does deviate from Konrad in some respects, particularly in the areas of the description of Roland's leadership, the tactics used by both sides, the importance of banners, and the death of Turpin. These deviations suggest that Stricker may have been drawing on elements of other sources, literary or other, in addition to the *Rolandslied*. A brief comparison with the descriptions of battle in *Willehalm*, however, demonstrates that Stricker's battles fall far short of the detail Wolfram provides, which supports the generally held view that Stricker is unlikely to have had first-hand experience of battle or of single combat.

The single combats in *Daniel*, in contrast to those in *Karl*, are diverse, making creation of one overall combat scheme impossible, and they reflect the diversity of the sources on which Stricker is drawing in the creation of his romance. Some, such as the combat between Artus and Matur, resemble those in *Karl* in structure and in function, whilst others, such as Daniel's encounter with Keiî and the other Arthurian knights, belong to the Arthurian tradition itself. The combats against the two giants show influence from the epic tradition, and the combats against monstrous opponents draw on Classical mythology, but appear otherwise to be Stricker's own invention.

What the single combats in *Daniel* have in common, however, is that they all, in one way or another, confound expectations. Stricker seems to delight in altering the setting, the terms or

the outcome of each combat from that with which his audience might be familiar. The most significant in this regard are the combats against monsters, in which Daniel finds himself increasingly unable to rely on prowess, and forced instead to utilise cunning (*wîsheit*) and trickery (*list*). Although a basic conflict between good and evil exists in the combats against monsters, combat is ultimately not the means by which the conflict is resolved.

The battles in *Daniel* too differ considerably from those in *Karl*, although Stricker draws on many of the same motifs. The series of battles echoes the series of engagements in the first battle in *Karl* to an extent, but the range of motifs used in their depiction is greatly reduced. The battles in *Daniel* contain no single combats, no mention of any but the most basic tactics, and rely mainly on depictions of general mêlée and of Daniel, Artus and his closest companions in combat. In addition, Stricker includes lengthy metaphors and similes in the battles in *Daniel* that have no equivalent in *Karl* or in the *Rolandslied*. Given the great difference in style, previous assumptions that the *Daniel* battles are drawn from or based on battles from the German *chanson de geste* tradition are clearly incorrect.

A more likely source for the battle descriptions in *Daniel* is the *Alexanderlied*, especially since Stricker paraphrases Lamprecht in his prologue. Battles in the *Alexanderlied* are given little prominence, and are described much more briefly than those in the *Rolandslied* or *Karl*, where they form the main focus of the text. In addition, Alexander, like Daniel, is a character famous for his *wîsheit* and for his use of *list*.

Just as *list*, and not prowess, is used to resolve Daniel's encounters with the monstrous opponents, and with the father of the giants, so too it is *list*, and not battle, that ultimately resolves the central conflict of the text, Artus's feud against Matur. The battles in *Daniel*, like the single combats, serve only to demonstrate that combat, or force, is not the solution to all conflicts – a message almost diametrically opposed to that with which Stricker presents his audience in *Karl*.

Research into the depictions of combat in Stricker's two long narrative works, then, serves to highlight once again his versatility as an author, and his ability not only to derive and manipulate material from a variety of different sources, but also to question basic themes of medieval literature, such as the role and function of combat. The fact that Pleier in his

reworking of *Daniel* recast the combats and in particular the battles in the mould of those found in *Karl* and in the *Rolandslied* demonstrates more than anything else the unique status of Stricker's achievement.

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Appendices

Explanatory note

The motifs to which I refer in the appendices on single combats are those established for the 53 shorter single combats in *Karl der Grosse* (see p. 50). I give citations from the text of *Karl* and of *Daniel* where this is directly relevant to the combat under study (the exact wording of challenges and taunts, for instance, is not given).

Appendix 1

Summaries of the single combats in *Karl der Grosse*

1.1 Shorter single combats in numerical order

1. Roland v. Alderôt
(4965-5036)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R keeps a look out		4965-67	
A approaches	E	4968	Alderôt dort her drabte.
A taunts and threatens R	F	4969-94	
R answers with own taunts and threats	G	4995-5007	
R draws sword	P	5008	Ruolant zucte sîn swert
R attacks A	J	5009	und huop sich an den heiden.
Protagonists fight		5010-11	dâ wart von in beiden ein strît, den der tôt schiet.
R destroys A's shield with sword	Z	5012-13	Ruolant dem heiden verschriet den schilt zetal durch den rant
A's shield falls, A's hand severed	AE	5014-15	daz im der schilt und diu hant ûf der erden gelac
R strikes A with sword	S	5016	und gap im aber einen slac
R's sword cuts through A's helm, skull, breast, saddle (and horse)	AC	5017-19	dur den helm und durch die hirnschal und alsô durch die brust zetal durch beide satelbogen nider
R's sword only halts when it reaches the ground		5020-22	daz swert enhabte niht wider, ê im daz ort koment was in die erden durch daz gras.
R taunts dead opponent	AG	5023-32	
R encourages other Christians		5033-36	

2. Roland v. Carpin
(5053-78)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
C challenges R	F	5053-60	
C lowers lance	H	5061-62	einen grôzen schâft er nîgen liez, dar ane stuont ein starker spiez
C spurs horse onward	I	5063	daz ros nam er mit den sporn
C strikes R with lance	K	5064	und stach den degen wolgeborn
Description of C (mental)	D	5065	nâch grimmes herzen gelust
C strikes R's shield		5066	ûf einen schilt für die brust,
Lance bends		5067	daz sich der starke schaft bouc
Lance is damaged		5068	und ein stücke von dem andern vlouc
C strikes R with sword	S	5069	dar zuo sluoc er Ruolanden
C strikes R's helm		5070-71	ûf den helm Veneranden einen vermezzenen slac
R challenges/threatens C	U	5072-73	
R strikes C's shield with sword	Z	5074-75	er sluoc im durch des schildes rant mit dem guoten Durndarte

R wounds C	AE	5076	und versneit im alsô harte
C falls dead	AF	5077-78	daz er begunde nîgen unt tôt dâ nider sîgen.

3. Olivier v. Falsaron (5234-99)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
F approaches with battalion	B	5234-43	der quam mit grôzen unsiten
Description of F (physical)	C	5244-51	
Description of F (mental)	D	5252	er was biderbe und wol bekant
F approaches O's battalion	E	5253	
F challenges O	F	5254-70	*NB offer of protection if O surrenders*
O answers with own challenge	G	5271-84	
Protagonists urge on horses	I	5285	den rossen si gehancten,
Protagonists charge	J	5286	zesamne si gesprancten.
O strikes F with lance	K	5287	Olivier den heiden stach,
F falls dead from horse	AF	5288-89	daz man in tôten vallen sach, rehte als er im gehiez
O draws back his lance	O	5290	wider zucte er den spiez
O taunts other Saracens	AH	5291-97	
Christians rejoice	AI	5298-99	dô huobens ir herzeichen: Munschoy riefens alle.

4. Tortan v. Orten (5310-15)

(	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Description of T (mental)	D	5310	durch den schedelîchen zorn
T approaches	E	5311-12	liez ein heiden dar gân:
T strikes O with lance	K	5313-14	der stach der grâven Orten durch al des libes porten,
O falls dead from horse	AF	5315	daz er tôt viel der nider.

5. Maximin v. Tortan (5316-22)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
T attempts to withdraw		5316	dô wære er gerne hin wider.
M challenges T	F	5317-18	dô sprach ein helt, hiez Maximîn: du muost noch langer hie sîn
M takes sword in both hands		5319a	mit beiden handen…
M strikes T with sword	S	5319b-20	…er im wac mit willen einen solhen slac,
M decapitates T	AD	5321	daz im daz houbet enpfiel
T bleeds	AE	5322	und im daz bluot dar nâch wiel.

6. Ilmar v. Marzille (5332-52)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
I declares intent to kill Christians		5332-42	
I urges horse on	I	5343	daz ros begunde er sêre manen
I charges at M	J	5344	und rante vaste gein dem vanen
I strikes M with lance in full view of his men	K, D	5345-48	und stach mit argem willen den edeln Marzillen den margrâven von Viannen vor allen sînen mannen
I pierces M's shield/armour	L	5349	durch den schilt und durch den halsperc
I transpierces M	M	5350-51	und dur al des lîbes vorwerc unze enmitten an den spiez,
M falls dead from horse	AF	5352	daz er sich tôt der nider liez.

7. Kursables v. Turpin (5388-433)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
K approaches with battalion	B	5388-91	dô sâhen si die dritten komen, die der künec Kursables brâhte. übers velt er vaste gâhte gewâfent vor den sînen.
T waits ready		5392-93	dô er den bischof Turpînen vil unverzagt ze wer vant
K challenges T	F	5394-408	
T answers with own challenge	G	5409-22	
T spurs on horse	I	5423	daz ros er mit den sporn nam,
T charges at K	J, D	5424	mit grimme er dar gevarn quam
T transpierces K (lance)	M	5425	und stach enmitten durch in.
T strikes K with sword	S, D	5426-27	durch sînen tugentlîchen sin gap er im dannoch einen slac.
K flinches from the blow		5428	swie sêre er von dem stiche erschrac,
T splits through K's helm and head	AA	5429-30	der slac wart als ungesunt durch den helm unz ûf den munt
K falls dead from horse	AF	5431	dâ mite viel er zetal.
T and Christians rejoice	AI	5432-33	Munschoy riefens über al, der bischof mit den sînen.

8. Valram v. Kridos (5444-50)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
K retrieves the fallen banner		5444-45	dô huop ein heiden, hiez Kridos, wider ûf der heiden vanen
K begins to rally his men		5446	und begunde die sîne vaste manen.
V sees this		5447	daz gesach ein grâve, hiez Valram.
V charges K	J	5448-49	eine tjost er gegen in nam mit einem spieze, der was guot.
V strikes K with lance	K	5450a	den stach er...
V transpierces K	M	5450b	daz er durch in wuot.

9. Malprimes v. Gergis (5510-23)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M approaches with battalion	B	5510-14	dô hete sich ûf diu ros gemaht diu vierde schar mit gewalt: Malprîmes von Pergalt, dem was ze vorderst harte gâch. zwelf tûsent volgten im nâch.
G sets himself in M's way	E	5515	gegen dem huop sich Gergîs,
Description of G (physical/mental)	C D	5516	der was starc küen unde wîs.
G urges on horse and charges M	I, J	5517-19	ze rehter zît er sprancte, daz er daz ros ergancte sô sêre, unz ez hin zuo quam,
G kills M easily		5520-21	daz er dem heiden benam den lîp mit einer kurzen nôt.
M falls dead from horse	AF	5522	er warf in von dem rosse tôt.
Christians rejoice	AI	5523	Munschoy rief daz gotes her.

10. Ciceron v. Gergis (5524-35)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
C avenges Malprîmes	A	5524-26	Malprîmes lac âne wer, dar umbe bôt vil herten lôn ein heiden, der hiez Circerôn.
C charges at G	J	5527-28	der begunde sîn ros wîsen mit grimme an Gergîsen
C strikes G with lance	K	5529	und stach ûf in einen spiez
Lance breaks	N	5530	daz sich der schaft zebrechen liez
Description of G (mental)	D	5531	daz was Gergîse unwert.
G raises sword	Q, D	5532	mit zorne huop er daz swert
G strikes C with sword	S	5533-34a	und gap Cicerône einen slac…
G kills C	AE	5534b-35	…daz im unschône daz bluot zen ôren ûz spranc.

11. Murafel v. Egeris (5557-78)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M approaches with battalion	B	5557-59	Dô diu vierde schar ende nam, nû sâhens wâ diu fünfte quam. die brâhte ein künec, hiez Mûrafel.
Description of M (physical)	C	5560-61	der was starc küen unde snel und hete an lobe grôze kraft
Description of M (mental)	D	5562-65	er zeigte sîne vîentschaft Ruolande und den sînen. daz liez er vaste schînen: er vleiz sich sêre ûf den prîs.
E sets himself in M's path	E	5566	gein dem huop sich Egerîs,
Description of E	C, D	5567-69	ein ûzerwelter Kerlinc. der hete elliu sîniu dinc ze gotes dienste gewant.

Protagonists charge	J	5570-71	dô si dar quamen gerant, dâ si sich solten mischen,
E's horse leaps a ditch		5572-73	dâ was ein grabe enzwischen. dar über sprancte Egerîs
E strikes M with lance	K	5574	und stach in ritterlîcher wîs
E pierces M's shield (and presumably armour)	L	5575	den künec durch swaz er für bôt
M falls dead from horse	AF	5576	und warf in von dem rosse tôt
Christians rejoice	AI	5577-78	des wâren die kristen vrô: Munschoy riefen si dô.

12. Brutan v. Egeris
(5581-85)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
B intends to avenge loss of banner	A	5581-82	daz wolte gerochen hân ein heiden, der hiez Brûtân.
E doesn't hesitate		5583	Egerîs versûmte sich niht,
E strikes B	S	5584a	er sluoc in,...
Narratorial reference to source		5584b	...sô daz buoch giht,
E kills B	AF	5585	daz sîn wîp ein witewe wart genant.

13. Amirat v. Samson
(5609-47)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Amirât approaches with battalion	B	5609-11	Alsô gelac diu fünfte schar, zehant huop sich diu sehste dar, die brâhte von Balvier Amirât.
Description of A and battalion (physical)	C	5612-18	
Description of A and battalion (mental)	D	5619-21	
A rides up to Christian battalion	E	5622-23	er rante mit gewalte hin zuo der kristen schar
A challenges leader of Christians	F, D	5624-29	
S answers challenge	G	5630-34	
Protagonists charge	J	5635-36	gelîche si genanten, einander si anranten:
A misses S with his lance		5637	der heide stach dâ bî hin,
S strikes A with his lance	K	5638	Samsôn traf aber in,
S aims at A's heart and hits		5639	gein dem herzen er in kos.
A falls dead from horse	AF, D	5640-41	des viel dâ nider varlôs der übermüetige man.
Christian army rejoices	AI	5642-44	als er den sælde gewan, daz er den heiden überwant, Munschoy riefen si zehant
Christians (inspired) ride into battle		5645-47	und liezen diu ros loufen. si wolten gerne koufen die êre die man iemer hât.

14. Targis v. Ansis (5717-45)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
A seizes shield and lance		5717	er begreif den schilt und den spiez
A rides forward	E	5718	als er daz ros loufen liez
T charges	J	5719	zehant dô sprancte ouch Targîs.
Protagonists charge	J	5720-21a	dô reit er unde Ansîs zesamen…
Protagonists strike each other with lances	K	5721b	…unde stâchen,
Lances break	N	5722	daz die schefte gar zebrâchen.
Protagonists draw sword	P	5723	ir swert si beide zucten,
Protagonists exchange blows	R	5724-25	ûf einander sis dructen mit grôzen slegen sêre.
Description of T (mental)	D	5726-27	Targîs vaht umbe êre und umbe wertlîchen prîs.
Description of A (mental)	D	5728-31	dâ wider vaht aber Ansîs umbe den himelischen ruom und umbe den grôzen rîchtuom, der iemer êweclîche wert.
T damages A's shield	Z	5732-34	dô sluoc Targîs sîn swert Ansîse durch des schiltes rant, dêz ûf der buckeln wider want
T's sword breaks		5735	und im daz swert zestucken brach.
A taunts T	U, D	5736-38	Ansîs froeliche sprach: ob ich sô vil geleisten mac, ich vergilte dir den slac.
A strikes T through helm	AA	5739	er sluoc im durch die hirnreben.
A taunts T	U	5740-41	er sprach: swem got wil heil geben, dem mac wol dîn vrîde werden.
T falls dead from horse	AF	5742	er viel tôt ûf die erden.
Christians rejoice	AI	5743-45	Munschoy rief der gotes kneht vil froelîche, daz was reht. sam tâten alle sîne man.

15. Eschermunt v. Engelher (5783-832)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Es approaches with army	B	5783-87	Dô diu sibende schar gestreit, dô sâhens wâ dort her reit diu ahte schar mit grôzer kraft.
Description of Es (mental/physical)	D, C	5788-89	die fuorte ein ritter manhaft, Eschermunt von Valterne. froelîch unde gerne fuort er den vanen an der hant
Es approaches Christians	E	5790-91	er quam vil verre gerant vor den sînen her dan
Es challenges leader of Christians	F	5792-98	
En amswers with own challenge	G	5799-812	
Protagonists charge	J	5813	Si sprancten beide sâ zehant.
Es pierces En's shield with lance	L	5814-15	nu stach im durch des schiltes rant Eschermunt einen spiez.
Es fails to kill En (he is		5816-19	wan daz in fürbaz niht enliez

protected by God and his hauberk)			beide got und ouch sîn halsperc, sô het er im des tôdes werc mit dem stiche geworht.
En too close to Es to use lance		5820-22	nû was der degen unervorht dem heiden alsô nâhen komen daz im der spiez niht mohte fromen.
En draws sword	P	5823	dô zucte er Clarmînen.
En addresses sword		5824-26	er sprach: lâ hiute schînen, daz du des nie niht vermite, swar ich dich sluoc, daz dûz versnite.
En strikes Es with sword	S	5827-28a	dô sluoc er Eschermunden einen slac...
En wounds Es	AE	2828b-29	...daz er der wunden diu von dem selben slage quam,
En kills Es		2830	sîn ende in kurzer zît nam.
En strikes Es through helm	AA	2831	er spielt im houbet unde helm:
Es falls dead from horse	AF	2832	dô viel er tôt ûf den melm.

16. Estrogant v. Hatte (5871-929)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
H is the ninth Christian leader to face the Saracens	C, D	5871-96	*NB lines 5874-77, 5883-86, 5887-92*
Description of E and his battalion (physical and mental)	C, D	5897-904	
E urges horse on	I	5905	Der künec begunde daz ros manen:
E lowers standard (lance)	H	5906	zornlîche neigte er den vanen
H sees E		5907	daz gesach der helt Hatte
H allows E to strike him with lance		5908	ze stiche er im gestatte,
H strikes E with lance	K	5909	ouch stach er alsô sêre wider
Protagonists unseated	V	5910-11	daz si von den rossen nider ze der erde beide quâmen.
Protagonists take up shields and swords		5912	schilt unde swert si nâmen
Protagonists exchange blows	R	5913	und huoben einen grôzen strît
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	5914-15	dâ wart haz zorn und nît erzeiget volleclîche.
Description of E (physical)	C	5916	der künec was krefte rîche
E strikes H repeatedly with sword	S	5917-20	des begunder ûf die wâge legen mit verchvîentlîchen slegen dem kristen alsô manec lôt, daz si in gedrucket heten tôt,
H strikes E with sword	S	5921-22	wan daz sich Hatte enzît gerach und im under dem schilte stach
H wounds E	AE	5923a	eine wunden,...
E tries to flee	X	5923b-24	...als er die gewan, dô wære er gerne von dan.
H sees E trying to flee		5925	des wart Hatte gewar,
H strikes E with sword	S	5926-27a	mit grimme sluoc er aber dar einen slac,...
H decapitates E	AD	5927b-28	...der machet in sô schart, daz er sîn âne houbet wart.
Christians rejoice	AI	5929	Munschoy sî dô riefen.

17. Stahelmariez v. Bernger (5971-87)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
S approaches with battalion	B	5971-73	Darnâch wart man sehende eine schar, daz was diu zehende, die brâhte der künec Stahelmariez,
Description of S and his battalion (physical)	C	5974	der fuorte manegen starken spiez.
Description of S (mental)	D	5975	er was vermezzen unde hêr
B sets himself in S's path	E	5976	gein dem huop sich Berngêr
Desctip of B (physical)	C	5977	ein ûzerwelter gotes kneht
Description of B (mental)	D	5978	der was biderbe unde reht
S charges	J	5979	nû sprancte Stahelmariez.
S strikes B with lance, breaks lance	K N	5980	wol verstach er sînen spiez
S pierces B's shield with lance	L	5981	Berngêre durch des schiltes rant.
B strikes S with lance	K	5982-83a	daz galt er mit voller hant. er stach in…
B pierces S's armour	L	5983b	…durch sîn gewant
S falls dead from horse	AF	5984-85	daz erz niemer überwant und warf in tôten ûf daz gras.
Christians rejoice	AI	5986-87	dô rief Munschoy swer dâ was/an der kristene schar.

18. Cernoles v. Roland (6055-84)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
C and R charge	J	6055-57	Cernoles und Ruolant quâmen einander an gerant zwischen den scharn beiden.
Description of C (physical)	C	6058b	…der starke heiden
Description of C (mental)	D	6058a-59	do ahte der starke heiden ûf Ruolanden niht ein ei.
Both break lance	N	6060	si stâchen beide ir sper enzwei.
Description of C (physical)	C	6061-65	Cernoles der was manhaft und hete alsô grôze kraft, als ir mich ê hôrtet sagen, swaz zwelf mule solten tragen, daz truoc er wol ûf einer hant.
R would have been injured had C struck first.		6066-68	dâ von mohte Ruolant wol verlorn hân sîn leben, wær im der êrste slac gegeben.
R closes with C	Y	6069-70	des enwolte er niht erbîten, er begunde dar nâher rîten
R strikes C with sword	S	6071	und sluoc den ungetouften,
Onlookers react	AI	6072-73	daz die dâ êre kouften des slages erschrâken alle.
R cuts C in two with sword	AC	6074-77	daz swert fuor mit schalle durch den man unz ûf daz gras. weder teil daz groezer was, dazn wart mir niht bescheiden.
C's soul and body fall to the Devil.		6078-79	
R taunts fallen opponent	AG	6080-84	

19. Margriez v. Olivier (6085-35)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
[O is attacked by four Saracens at once, and M succeeds in striking him while he is distracted]		[6085-102]	
M taunts O	F	6103-09	
O responds	G	6110-11	
O spurs horse on	I	6112-13	daz ros begunde er grüezen ze beiden sîten mit den sporn
Description of O (mental)	D	6114	und zeigte im vreislîchen zorn
O strikes M's shield with sword	S	6115	er sluoc den ungevüegen gast,
O destroys M's shield	Z	6116	daz im der schiltrieme brast
M drops shield		6117	und er den schilt vallen liez
O strikes M with sword	S	6118-19	do enpfie der schoene Margriez von Oliviere einen slac,
M nearly falls from horse		6120-21	daz er ze vallene pflac von dem rosse ûf den melm.
O splits M's helm and head	AA	6122-23	er spielt im houbet unde helm gein den ôren beiden.
Saracens separate the protagonists		6124-25	dô drungen in die heiden von dem degen Oliviere.
O seizes lance		6126	einen spiez begreif er schiere
O throws lance at M		6127	und schôz Margrieze
O pierces M in back	M *variant*	6128	durch den rucke mit dem spieze.
O taunts retreating opponent	AG *variant*	6129-34	
Christians rejoice	AI	6135	Munschoy wart dô vaste erschalt.

20. Samson v. Schrapalon (6152-61)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Sa strikes Sc	S	6152-55	um dirre selben zuokunft sluoc der herzoge Samsôn einen heiden, der hiez Schrapalôn, den künec von Vantanîre
Description of Sc (mental)	D	6156-57	daz der selbe êren gîre des slages wart vil ungemuot,
Sc loses brains and blood through his ears.	AE	6158-59	wand im daz hirn und daz bluot ze beiden ôren ûz spranc.
Sa's sword rings	T	6160-61	daz swert Samsône klanc vil ritterlîche an sîner hant.

21. Samson v. anonymous Saracen (6367-73)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
S killed		6367	der êrste der dâ tôt beleip,
Armies charge	J	6368	dô man diu ros zesamene treip,
S wins eternal honour		6369-70	daz was der herzoge Samsôn

			der enpfie den êwigen lôn:
a/S strikes S with lance and kills him	K	6371	den stach ein heiden tôt.
Christians mourn	AI	6372-73	die grôzen clagelîche nôt die clagete manec Kerlinc.

22. Roland v. anonymous Saracen (6374-77)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R avenges Samsôn	A	6374-75	daz vil schedelîche dinc rach der degen Ruolant.
R strikes a/S with sword	S	6376	er sluoc den heiden zehant
R strikes a/S through shoulders	AB	6377	durch die ahseln in die brust

23. Albrich v. Ansis (6386-99)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Al strikes An with sword	S	6386-87	von Affricke Albrich der sluoc Ansîsen
Al pierces An's armour		6388	durch stahel und durch îsen,
An falls dead	AF	6389	daz er tôt viel zer erden.
Christians mourn	AI	6390-91	den edelen und den werden clagten die kristen alle.
Saracens taunt/threaten Christians	AI	6392-99	

24. Turpin v. Albrich (6400-10)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
T challenges A	F	6400-04	
T approaches A (horseback)	E	6404a	er reit dar…
T strikes A with sword	S	6404b	…und sluoc in,
A falls dead	AF	6405-06	daz er den lîp ind den sin in kurzen zîten verlôs.
T and Christians rejoice	AI	6407-10	do Albrich den tôt erkôs, Munschoy, rief Turpîn und alle die gesellen sîn.

25. Granton v. Gergis (6417-23)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Gr charges	J, D	6417-19	dô sprancte durch der êren lôn von Capadocie Grantôn, der Marsilien vanen fuorte.
Gr spurs horse	I	6420-21	daz ros er vaste ruorte ze beiden sîten mit den sporn
Gr strikes Ge with lance	K	6422-23a	und stach den degen wolgeborn Gergîsen…
Ge falls dead from horse	AF	6423b	…daz er tôt gelac.

26. Granton v. Bernger (6424-27)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
G strikes B with sword	S	6424-25	dar nâch gap er einen slac dem degene Berngêre,
B falls dead	AF	6426-27	daz ouch er niht mêre gevehten mohte noch geleben.

27. Roland v. Granton (6430-50)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R challenges G	F	6430-32	du hast nû êren genuoc, sprach Ruolant der gotes kneht, ich so dir lônen, daz ist reht.
R strikes G with sword	S	6433-34	dô gap er Grantône einen solhen slac ze lône,
G fatally wounded in head	AA	6435	daz im diu ougen ûz sprungen.
R taunts fallen G	AG	6436-41	
Christians rejoice	AI	6442-50	

28. Olivier v. Kartan (6451-92)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Description of O (mental)	D	6451-54	Der degen Olivier kêrte, als in sîn manheit lêrte, da erz vil harte wâgte, des in doch niht betrâgte.
K blocks O's path	E	6455	dâ widerreit in Kartân:
Description of K (mental)	D	6456	der wolte niemen hin lân.
K taunts O (offers mercy)	F	6457-68	
O answers with taunt	G	6469-73	
Protagonists charge	J	6474-75	vil nîtlîche sprancten sie zesamene mit den swerten.
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	6476-77	einander si gewerten vil grôzer vîentschefte.
Protagonists raise swords	Q	6478-79	mit rîcher mannes krefte

			wurden diu swert ûf gezogen.
Protagonists strike with swords	R	6480-81	mit grôzen slegen umbetrogen geslagen volleclîche.
Divine intervention		6482-84	nu zeigte Krist der rîche. daz er ze gote tohte und wol gehelfen mohte.
O strikes K with sword	S	6485-86a	Olivier sluoc Kartâne einen slac…
O kills K		6486b-87	…der mahte in âne des lîbes in vil kurzer stunt.
O splits K's helm/head	AA	6488-89	er sluoc in rehte unz in den munt durch den helm und durch daz houbet.
O taunts fallen K	AG	6490-92	

29. Abis v. Turpin (6596-628)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
A charges	E	6596	nu sprancte der herzog Âbis,
Description of A (mental)	D	6597	den man nie lachende vant.
Description of A (physical)	C	6598-99	sînes lîbes kraft was bekant über allez ertrîche.
A strikes T with lance	K	6600-01	der stach vil freislîche ûf den bischof Turpînen…
A pierces T's shield with lance	L	6602	durch den schilt sînen…
A fails to wound T		6603-04	daz im der stich vil nâhe gie und doch niht wunden enpfie
Description of A (physical)	C	6605	Âbis hete grôze kraft
A's lance remains whole		6606-07	unt fuort einen sô starken schaft daz er des stiches ganz beleip.
Divine intervention saves T		6608-09a	daz erz durch den bischof niht entreip, diz fuogte got…
T's horse sits back on haunches		6609b-10	…unde ouch daz, daz im sîn ros der nider saz
T avoids A's lance		6611	und entweich dem stiche hin dan.
Heathens rejoice	AI	6612-15	
T's horse recovers		6616	nu erholte sich daz ros der nôt,
T's horse leaps forwards		6617	und spranc ûf als ez solte.
T challenges Saracens	U	6618-21	
T closes with A	Y	6622-23	er reit den herzogen an nâch den selben worte,
T strikes A with sword	S	6624	und sluoc in mit dem orte
T pierces A's armour and wounds him	Z	6625	durch zwô brünne in die brust
A falls dead from horse	AF	6626-28	daz in des todes gelust in kurzen zîten überwant. er viel dâ tôt ûf den sant.

30. Olivier v. Malsaron (6670-76)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M tries to flee	X	6670-71	dô kêrte er fliehende dan Malfarôn der si fuorte.
O urges on his horse	I	6672	Olivier sîn ros ruorte,
O pursues M	J	6673	unz er den selben überreit

O strikes M with sword	S	6674	durch den ahsel er in versneit,
M falls from horse	AF	6675	daz er von dem rosse nider viel,
M dies		6676	dem gæhen tôde in sînen giel.

31. Olivier v. Turken
(6677)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
O strikes T with sword	S	6677	dar nâch sluoc er Turken

32. Olivier v. Esturken
(6678)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
O strikes E (implicit) with sword	S	6678	und sînen bruoder Esturken,

33. Olivier v. Justine
(6680-83)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
O strikes J with sword	S	6680-81	von Vallecete Justîne dem gap er dar nâch einen swanc,
O cuts J in two	AC	6682-83	der durch den man ze tal klanc, daz sîn wurden zwei stücke.

34. Turpin v. Sigelot
(6693-700)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
T charges S	J	6693-94	Turpîn mit der gewîhten hant quam einen heiden an gerant,
Description of S (physical)	C	6695-96	der was geheizen Sigelot: den bettens an als einen got.
T decapitates S	AD	6697	dem sluoc er daz houbet abe.
T taunts fallen S	AG	6698-700	swer dich zeime gote have, sprach der bischof Turpîn, der müeze gunêret sîn.

35. Tibors v. Engelher
(6888-904)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
T approaches at head of battalion	B	6888-90	Tibors von Sarragôz, dem dâ bevolhen was der van, der reit zevorderst her dan
T charges at E	J	6891-92	und begunde sîn ros kêren mit grimme an Engelhêren,
T strikes E with lance	M	6894	durch den stach er einen spiez

E falls dead from horse	AF	6895	und warf in nider tôten.
T taunts E	AG	6896-904	

36. Olivier v. Tibors (6905-14)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
O challenges T	F	6905-06	
O charges T	J	6907-08	er huop sich von den sînen hin gein den Sarrazînen
O strikes T with sword	S	6909	und sluoc den selben heiden
O strikes T down to his hilt		6910	unz ûf den swertscheiden
O strikes T through shoulders	AB	6911	durch die ahsel mit eime slage
O taunts fallen T	AG	6912-14	

37. Olivier v. Valbin (6915-18)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
O strikes v. with sword	S	6915-16	dar nâch sluoc er Valbînen, den lieben bruoder sînen,
O strikes v. through shoulders	AB	6917	zetal durch daz schulterblat.
V falls dead	AF	6918	er starp an der selben stat.

38. Roland v. Alfabin (7330-31)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R strikes A with sword	S	7330-31	er sluoc mit sîn selbes hant den künec Alfabînen

39. Roland v. Ebelin (7332)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R strikes E (implicit) with sword	S	7332	und sînen bruoder Ebelînen.

40. Marsilie v. Gerhart (7373-75)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Description of M (mental)	D	7373	Marsilies was noch unverzaget:
M strikes G with sword	S	7374-75	er sluoc selbe, sô man saget, Gêrharten von Russelîn

41. Marsilie v. Ives
(7376)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M strikes I with sword (implicit)	S	7376	und Îven den gesellen sîn

42. Marsilie v. Pegon
(7377)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M strikes P with sword (implicit)	S	7377	und dar zuo Pêgônen

43. Marsilie v. Tegion
(7378)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
M strikes T with sword (implicit)	S	7378	und von Pelmo Tegiônen,

44. Roland v. Jorfalier
(7380-83)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R avenges death of Christians	A	7380	daz vergalt im Ruolant schiere
R strikes J with sword	S	7381-82a, 7383	er sluoc Marsilie zehant einen sun [und swen er dâ bî im vant], der was geheizen Jorfalier.

45. Roland v. Marsilie
(7390-432)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
R's sword rings	T	7390-91	hei wie der guote Durndart durch daz gewæfene klanc,
R charges at M	J	7392	dô Ruolant ûf den künec dranc!
R challenges M	F	7393-401	
Protagonists exchange blows	R	7402	dô sach man slac und widerslac,
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	7403	dô sach man zorn wider zorne.
Turpin reacts		7404-08	
R strikes at M with sword	S	7409-11	mit ellenthafter hant tet der degen Ruolant nâch Marsilie einen swanc.
M ducks		7412	dô tet der künec einen wanc,
R misses M		7413	der im daz houbet half bewarn.
R cuts off M's arm		7414-15	dô sluoc im Ruolant den arm rehte in den ahseln abe,
M's morale affected	W	7418-19	der künec was ouch unfrô,

			daz er den arm alsô verlôs.
R angered by M's escape		7420-27	
M attempts to flee	X	7428-31	der künec verlôs den zeswen arm und lie vil schantlîche in sînem eigen rîche Ruolande den sic und den strît.

46. Olivier v. Algariez
(7473-98)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
A approaches	E	7473-75	Nu sazte den lîp enwâge der künec von Kartâge
A transpierces O with his lance	M	7476-77	der stach alrêrst einen spiez durch Olivieren den degen.
A taunts O	F	7478-82	
Description of O (mental)	D	7483-87	Olivier erschrac niht sêre, daz geschuof diu êweg êre, diu im dâ stuont ze gwinne, und diu vil grôziu minne, die er ze gotes dienste truoc.
O raises his sword	Q	7488a	er zôch sîn swert…
O strikes A with his sword	S	7488b-89	…unde sluoc den künec Algariezen
A's hauberk falls in two pieces	Z	7490-92	daz sich begunde entsliezen der halsperc ze beiden wenden, von der ahseln unz ûf die lenden.
A dies	AF	7493	dô was ez ouch umb in getân.
O taunts fallen opponent	AG	7494-98	

47. Roland v. anonymous Saracen
(8110-32)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
a/S approaches		8110	dannoch quam dar ein heiden
a/S waits for R to die		8111	und warte, wenne er stürbe,
a/S wants sword and horn		8112-13	daz er an im erwürbe daz guote swert und daz horn.
a/S's nationality		8114	der was von Arabîe geborn.
a/S's motivation		8115-16	dâ wolte er danne dar nâch sagen, er hete Ruolanden erslagen.
a/S thinks R is dead		8117	in dûhte Ruolant wære tôt.
a/S pretends injury		8118-21	nu mahte er sich mit bluote rôt, als er vil kûme lebte und nâch dem schate strebte da er ouch den kristen under vant.
R notices a/S		8122-23	nu wart der werde Ruolant sînes willen wol gewar.
R remains still		8124-25	er enthabte sich, unze er dar in die rehte mâze quam.
R takes up Olifant		8126	sîn horn Olifant er nam,
R lifts Olifant		8127	daz erhuop er kûme genuoc.
R strikes a/S with horn through head	S *variant*	8128	durch daz houbet er in sluoc,
a/S falls dead	AF	8129	daz erz niemer mêr überwant

R curses fallen a/S	AG	8130-31	
Olifant has broken.		8132	ich hân daz horn zespalten.

48. Gerolt v. Malprimes (9710-23)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
G and M charge	J	9710-11	nu liez zesamene strîchen Malprîmes und Gerôlt.
Description of G and M, mental	D	9712-13	die wolten des tôdes solt einander geben, mohte ez sîn.
Description of G and M, physical	C	9714	daz tâtens mit gebærden schîn.
G and M strike with lances	K	9715-16	der kristen und der heiden si stâchen daz in beiden
Both horses knocked from their feet (implicit, G and M unseated)	V	9717	diu ros gesâzen der nider.
G and M spring to their feet		9718	si sprungen aber ûf wider.
Description of G and M (mental)	D	9719-20	dô zeigtens mit den swerten einander wes si gerten.
G and M exchange blows	R	9721	ir slege wurden vîentlich.
G and M parted by press		9722-23	iedoch geschieden si sich: daz geschuof ein grôz gedrenge.

49. Gotfrit v. anon. Saracen (9744-47)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
G transpierces a Saracen with his lance	M	9744-45	Gotfrit des keisers venre stach durch einen künec heiden,
The Saracen falls dead	AF	9746-47	daz er sich muose scheiden von dem rosse und von der krône.

50. Naymis v. king of Persia (9916-82)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
k/P approaches with battalion	B, D	9916-19	dô lie dar über strîchen der junge künec von Persiâ der wolte den lîp verliesen dâ oder tuon dem keiser den tôt.
[k/P and battalion break into N's knights]		[9920-26]	
N sees k/P		9927	des wart Naymis gewar,
N approaches k/P	E	9928	der kêrte manlîche dar
N to rescue of his men		9929	und wolte lœsen sîne man.
N charges k/P	J	9930	er reit den jungen künec an.
Protagonists exchange blows (swords)	R	9931	dâ wart mit swerten geslagen,
No coward worthy of watching fight		9932-34	daz deheinem bœsen zagen diu nôt ze sehene tohte,

			der niht entwîchen mohte.
Sword blows ring loudly	T	9935-37	ir slege gâben solhen schal, daz die andern slege über al bî disem schalle wâren tôt.
[Karl notices N's distress and comes to rescue		9938-52]	
Description of N (mental)	D	9953-54	in sach der herzoge Naymis dâ gerne, des sît gewis.
k/P strikes N with sword	S	9955-56	wâ von, daz wil ich iu sagen. in hete der heiden geslagen,
N falls back over crupper		9957	daz er ûf dem satelbogen lac.
N almost unseated		9958-59	wær im noch worden ein slac sô wærez ros von im entladen
[Karl intervenes with lance		9960-66]	
N thanks Karl		9978-82	

51. Karl v. king of Persia (9960-66)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
K comes to aid of Naymis		9960	nû erwante Karl den schaden.
Description of K (physical)	D	9961	er fuort einen ûzerwelten spiez
K charges at k/P	J	9962	ze rehter tjoste er loufen liez
K strikes k/P with lance and kills him	M	9963	und stach durch Pâligânes kint.
K taunts fallen opponent	AG	9964-66	die noch vor dir genesen sint, sprach der keiser, deist mîn wân, die mugen wol dîn fride hân.

52. Karl v. Kanabus (9967-74)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
Kn sees death of k/P		9967	diz sach sîn vetter Kanabus,
Kn challenges K	F	9968-69	der sprach ze Karle alsus: du hast geschallet genuoc.
Kn charges K	J	9970a	er reit dar nâher...
Kn strikes K with sword	S	9970b-71	...unde sluoc dem keiser einen slac grôz,
Kn fails to injure K		9972	des er vil lützel genôz.
K strikes Kn with sword	S	9973	er sluoc im alsô sêre wider,
Kn falls dead from horse	AF	9974	daz er von dem rosse viel der nider

53. Paligan v. Rapote (10077-98)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line numbers*	*Quotes*
P's intention to kill Rapote (to stop him blowing the horn)	D	10077-81	er getet im alsô zorne, daz enmohte er niemer bewarn.
P rides at R	J	10092-94	dô lie der künec Pâligân mit grimme an Rapoten gân.

P strikes R with lance	K	10096	den stach der gar verlorne
R falls dead	AF	10097	daz er tôt viel der nider
P pulls his lance back	O	10098	...und zuhte sînen spiez wider

1.2 Combats between Karl and Paligan, and Dietrich and Pinabel

Karl v. Paligan
(10067-305)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
P announces his intention to destroy K and army		10067-73	
P sends riders to spy out K's whereabouts		10074-75	
P's intention to be first to attack K		10076	daz er den alrêrst ane rite
P rides forward with battalions	B	10082	dô sprancte er zuo mit zehen scharen
K sees P and prays		10083-91	
P aims at K with lance		10099	unde nam des keisers war.
K rides towards P	E	10100a	dô sprancte Karl…
K lowers his lance	H	10100b-01	…und neigte dar einen alsô kreftigen spiez,
Description of lance		10101-02	daz er sich niht zebrechen liez
Protagonists urge their horses on	I	10103-04	swie harte an dirre zuovart der rosse kraft enbunden wart
Description of protagonists (physical)	C	10105	si heten doch beide die kunst,
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	10106	daz si nâch vientlîcher gunst
Protagonists strike each other's shields with their lances	K	10107-08	einander rehte trâfen an den schilt ûf diu wâfen.
Lances remain whole		10109-11	dô hete ir ietweders schaft von der groeze solhen kraft daz si von dem stiche ganz belîben.
Both saddles break		10112-13	si wurden alsô getriben daz die setele beide brâchen
Both protagonists unseated	V	10114-15	und beide einander stâchen von den rossen der nider.
Both armies look on, unable to interfere		10116-28	dô habten diu her wider, die kristen und die heiden. daz was wol kunt in beiden, ob si zuo gesprenget hæten, daz si diu ros ertræten. dâ wære worden ein strît, daz si beide in kurzer zît daz leben muosen fliesen. nû woltens rehte kiesen, weder den sic erwürbe. si jâhen, swer dâ stürbe, *daz* er würd überwunden dar nâch in kurzen stunden.
Both protagonists unseated		10129-31	Dô dise künege beide in selben harte leide nider quâmen an daz gras,
Protagonists make best of situation		10132-33	alse ez dâ gevallen was, dar nâch muosen siz ouch geben.
Combat to the death		10134	swiez niht engülte wan daz leben,
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	10135	si wâren idoch vil unverzaget.
Protagonists close with swords		10136-37	si liefen beide, sô man saget, vil vîentlîche einander an.
Both shields destroyed	Z	10138-39	ir schilte wurden her dan in kurzer zît gehouwen

Protagonists exchange blows	R	10140-41	si liezen beide schouwen mit den slegen die si sluogen,
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	10142-43	daz si einander truogen vil grôzlîche vîentschaft.
Description of P (physical)	C	10144-45	nu hete Pâligân die kraft, daz er zwêne halperg an truoc
P strikes K with sword	S	10146	und ouch sô grôze slege sluoc
Karl barely keeps his feet		10147	dâ Karl kûme vor gestuont
Karl not discouraged		10148	doch tet er als die frumen tuont,
Description of K (mental)	D	10149	ern erschrac vor sînen slegen niht.
Sword-blows are exchanged	R	10150-51	moht er hin wider geslahen iht, dazn wart ouch niht gesûmet
There is no official to separate them		10152-53	in was alsô gerûmet, daz si dehein griezwarte schiet.
Onlookers react	AI	10154-58	daz dûhte die heidenische diet ein sælde nâch ir wâne. si westen an Pâligâne, sô si jâhen, solhe kraft, daz er wol würde sigehaft.
Description of Karl (physical)	C	10159-60	swaz er nû wunders begie im entweich der gotes kempfe nie:
Sword-blows are exchanged	R	10161-63	er vertruoc im ouch deheinen slac. ez was ein herter bejac, des ir ietweder gerte.
The combat lasts a long time		10164-66	dô dirre strît gewerte mit harte grôze île ein vil lange wîle
P offers mercy to K	U	10167-90	
K refuses		10191-210	
P challenges K	U	10211-30	
K responds with own challenge		10231-37	
Swords ring	T	10238-39	nu liezens aber klingen diu swert mit kreftegen slegen
Sword-blows are exchanged	R	10240-42	der begundens ûf einander legen swaz sir geleisten mohten. dâ wart sô vil gevohten,
Onlookers react	AI	10243-44	daz si alle wurden wunderhaft, wâ si beide næmen die kraft.
Sword-blows are exchanged	R	10245-46a	dô ir ietweder gap und enpfie manegen slac…
Protagonists can't pierce each other's armour		10246b-47	…der nâhen gie und doch der stahel niht ensneit…
Protagonists exert themselves mightily		10248-49	und der grôzen arbeit einen last ûf sich geluoden,
K begins to tire		10250	dô begunde der keiser muoden.
K strikes P	S	10251	swaz er ûf den heiden gesluoc,
Description of P's armour		10252	wand er zwêne halsperg an truoc,
K can't pierce P's two hauberks		10253-55	dâdurch moht er geslahen niht. /verscharte er den einen iht, den andern muose er ganz lân.
P closes with K (on foot)	Y	10256-57a	dô trât der künec Pâligân dem keiser zuo…
Description of P (mental)	D	10257b	…mit nîde
P damages K's armour	Z	10258-59	und schriet im daz gesmîde, den helm und den halsperc
P cuts off K's helm	AA	10260-61	er worhte im sô getâniu werc, daz er im den helm abe sluoc,
P cuts off K's hair		10262	dar zuo des hâres genuoc.

Onlookers react	AI	10263-66	do begunden die heiden schallen. daz Karl muose vallen daz was ân aller slahte wanc beide ir wân und ir gedanc.
Divine intervention		10267-82	do gedâhte ouch got etewes:
K receives miraculous strength		10283-84	dô der keiser daz vernam, sîn lîp ze solhen kreften quam,
K's reaction to miracle		10285-88	daz er sich des wol versach und es dar nâch offenlîche jach, daz es von menschlîchem künne nie man die kraft gewünne.
K bows in thanks		10289	dô neic er hin ze gote wert
K raises his sword	Q	10290	und huop Joyôsen sîn swert
K strikes P	S	10291a	und sluoc…
K strikes P through helm and through [arming-cap?]	AA	10291b-92	…deiz Pâligâne wuot durch den helm und durch den flinshuot,
P falls at K's feet		10293	daz er vor sînen füezen lac,
K strikes P	S	10294	und gap im aber einen slac:
K kills P	AF	10295	der schiet im von dem lebene.
Divine intervention		10296-300	
Onlookers react	AI	10301-05	Daz Pâligâne lac erslagen, des begunden di heiden verzagen, die verlurn ir kraft unde ir sin. michel nôt wart under in: ze flühte huoben si sich.

Dietrich v. Pinabel
lines 11793-2077

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
P challenges K	F	11793-806	
D answers with own challenge	G	11814-44	
Combat agreed formally		11885-86	Des kampfes was alsô verjehen: er solte dâ zehant geschehen.
K asks for prayers from all and sundry that right will prevail		11887-92	…daz si got alle bæten und daz mit flîze tæten, daz er sîne genâde erzeigte und daz unreht dâ geneigte.
Protagonists arrive at field		11893-94	Dietrich und Pinabel die wâren ze felde harte snel.
Circle is drawn/made		11895	dâ wart ein wîter kreiz gemaht.
Protagonists' horses made ready		11896	
Protagonists made ready		11897	
Protagonists arm themselves		11898-902	si leiten an diu kleider, diu für den stehelînen wint vil dicke guot gewesen sint
Protagonists mount their horses		11903-04	do si nihtes vergâzen und ûf diu ros gesâzen
Description of D (physical)	C	11905-06	dô was der wenege Dietrich dem sige niender gelich.
Description of P (physical)	C	11907-09	Pinabel sîn kampfgenôz, der was starc unde grôz und was dar zuo sô manlîch…
Onlookers react	AI	11910-14	
Karl prays for D's victory		11915-21	

Karl sets guard round D		11922-25	
K forbids interference in fight		11926-32	
P and D approach	E	11933-34	die kemphen wâren alsô gar und quâmen vermezzenlîche dar.
Officials give protagonists the signal		11935	die griezwarten si manten.
Protagonists charge with lances	J	11936	einander si anranten,
Protagonists ready to strike each other		11937-38	si begunden ein ander gern vil vîentlîche mit den spern.
Protagonists pierce each other's shields with lances	L	11939-40	der wart iewederez verspilt ûf die ringe durch den schilt
Lances break	N	11941-42a	daz man die stücke hôhe sach ûf springen
Protagonists dismount		11943	do erbeizten si beide.
No-one dares enter the circle on pain of death		11944-48	
Protagonists hold their shields ready		11949-50	die nâmen di schilte für sich
Protagonists close with each other with swords		11951-52	und trâten, als si gerten, zesamene mit den swerten
Description of P (mental)	D	11953	Pinabel was manhaft
Description of P (physical)	C	11954	und hete ummâzlîche kraft
P destroys D's shield	Z	11955-56	des verschriet er Dietrîche sînen schilt vil kurzlîche.
Description of D (physical)	C	11957	Dietrich was kleine unde krane
Description of D (mental)	D	11958-60	er het aber grôzen gedanc, im gæbe got kraft unde maht, wand er nâch sînen êren vaht.
Onlookers pray for D		11961-63	
D inspired by Roland's sword Durendart		11964-73	swâ im des lîbes kraft erwant, dâ trat aber Durndart für.
D destroys P's shield (before P does D's)	Z	11974-76	ê daz er sînen schilt verlür, dâ was ouch sînes schiltes blôz Pinabel sîn kampfgenôz.
Protagonists exchange blows	R	11977-79	si begunden enander den tôt mit grôzen slegen bieten.
Protagonists damage each other's armour	Z	11980-81	die ringe si verschrieten, daz si vaste begunden rîsen
Protagonists demonstrate their intentions		11982-83	si begunden enander wisen, war umbe si dar quâmen
Protagonists take swords in both hands		11984-85	diu swert si vaste nâmen mit beiden handen beide
Motives of protagonists		11986-87	nâch des andern herzeleide begunde ir ietweder streben.
Description of P (physical)	C	11988-89	dem ez dâ gie an daz leben, der was kreftе rîche...
P strikes D with sword	S	11990a	und sluoc...
Sparks fly from P's blows		11990b-91	... sô freislîche daz man daz fiwer sach springen
P's blows ring loudly	T	11992	und die slege hôrte klingen...
Onlookers react	AI	11993-97	
Divine intervention		11998-99	dô got sîner nôt verdrôz, dô fuogte er im vil snelle
D wounds P in the head	AA	12000-02	daz er Pinabelle eine wunden durch den helm sluoc, die er vil kûme getruoc
P wounded and bleeding	AE	12003-05	im erlasch diu kraft und der muot, wan im daz rehte verhbluot vil sêre über diu ougen ran
P offers to surrender and		12006-15	

reward D if D will save Genelun's life			
D refuses to save Genelun but offers mercy to P		12016-30	
P refuses mercy for himself		12031-36	
D threatens P		12037-44	
Protagonists close once more	Y	12045-46	dô si die rede getâten, zesamne si aber trâten
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	12047	mit houbethaften vîentschaft.
Protagonists exchange blows	R	12048-49	ir sinne ir manheit und ir kraft liezens mit den slegen schen
Protagonists defend themselves		12050-51	dane mohte anders niht geschehen, wan daz si werten daz leben
Protagonists in the hand of fate		12052-54	wem diu sælde wolte geben den sige und die êre, daz versuohten si vil sêre
D favoured by fate		12055	daz erzeigte si kurzlîche.
D strikes P through helm	AA	12056-59	daz er Pinabelle aber sluoc durch den helm einen slac
P stunned		12060-62	...daz er der wer gar verpflac und stuont als ein erslagen man, der sich niht mê gewern kan.
Onlookers react	AI	12063-65	
D turns Durendart in his hand		12066-67	under des warf Dietrich Durndarte den andern ecke gar...
D cuts P's head off	AD	12068-69	und sluoc dô Pinabelle gar mit einem slage daz houbet abe
D taunts fallen P and proclaims himself in the right	A~G	12070-72	
D kneels down to pick up P's head		12073	er kniete nider ûf den sant
D takes off P's helm		12074	und entwâfentez houbet alzehant.
D impales P's head on his lance		12075	daz stiez er vor an sîn sper.
D remounts		12076	ûf den ros saz er...
D leaves the circle		12077	...und fuorte ez ûf den hof dan.

Appendix 2

Summaries of the single combats in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*

2.1 Single combats between knights

Daniel v. Keiî
(169-221)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D approaches K	E	169-171	vil manlîche begunde er durch daz selbe wunder gegen her Keiîn gâhen.
D addresses K (friendly challenge to combat)	F	172-174	dô sie begunden nâhen dô begunde ern ansprechen, ob er iht wolde stechen.
K agrees to combat and boasts	G	175-187	
Protagonists charge	J	188	dô liezen sie zesamen gân.
Lances are lowered	H	189	sie neigten diu sper ûf die brust
Intention of protagonists		190-91	daz was ietweders gelust daz er den andern valte.
Protagonists charge	J	192-93	mit solichem gewalte begunden sie zesamen komen.
Possible interpretation: K is found lacking		194-95	dô wart her Keiî genomen an der ritterschefte
K is struck by lance	K	196-97	und wart mit grôzer krefte gestochen âne sînen danc,
K is unseated	V	198-99	daz er wol eines spers lanc von dem rosse nider viel
D captures K's horse with the intention of returning it		200-03	dô wolde im her Daniel niht mê tuon, dô daz ergie, wan daz er daz ors gevie, und rette im höveschlîche mite:
D mocks K (friendly)	AG *variant*	204-12	
K remains silent		213	Keiî sprach niht dâ widere
K remains lying on the ground (possibly stunned)		214-15	er lac noch dâ nidere, wand er vil unsanfte viel.
D offers to return K's horse		216-19	
K receives his horse back		220-21	her Keiî tet daz er gebôt, er nam sîn ors widere.

Daniel v. Troiman du Gereit
(243-45)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
TdG approaches D / charges at D	E/J	243-44	Der êrste der in ane reit, daz was Troiman du Gereit.
D unseats TdG	V	245	den stach er nider al zehant.

Daniel v. Gressamant
(246-47)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
G approaches / charges at D	E/J	246	darnâ quam herre Gressamant
D unseats G	V	247	den warf er an daz selbe mâl.

Daniel v. Gengemor, Linval, Alom, Schaitis, Pribandron and Belamis
(248-53)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D unseats all other knights to approach him	V	248-53	Gengemôr und Linvâl, Alom und Schaitîs, Pribandrôn und Belamîs - waz töhten sie alle genant? - sie gevielen gar von sîner hant, des enkunden sie sich niht bewarn.

Daniel v. Gawein
(263-80)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
G offers to joust with D	F	263-65	Dô sprach her Gâwein: „ritter, welt ir mit uns zwein stechen durch iuwer höveschеit?“
D agrees	G	266	des was Daniel bereit.
G and D ride away from each other (to gain distance)		267-69	dô si des wurden enein, Daniel und her Gâwein, besunder riten sie zehant.
G and D spur on their horses	I	270-71	diu ors wurden gewant, darnâch wart in gehenget,
G and D charge	J	272	und wurden mit grimme ersprenget.
Description of G and D (mental)	D	273	dô wart mit nîde gespilt.
G and D pierce each other's shields	L	274-75	durch des andern schilt stach ietweder sîn sper
Description of G and D (mental)	D	276	mit sô manlîcher ger
Lances break	N	277	daz ez zebrast und zerspranc.
Both remain in the saddle		278-80	ir ietweders lop dâ niht enhanc: sie gesâzen beide, als sie wolden und ouch guote ritter solden.

Daniel v. Iwein
(281-87)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
I challenges D	F	281	darnâch hiesch in her Iwein.
I and D strike each other with their lances	K	282-83a	des wart aber von in zwein sô sêre gestochen

I and D charge at each other	J	283b	...und geriten
Both are nearly unseated	V	284-85	daz sie vil kûme vermiten beide sament daz vallen.
D keeps his seat creditably		286-87	doch gesaz er vor in allen âne lasterlîchiu mâl.

Daniel v. Parzival
(288-93)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
P approaches	E	288	ze jungste quam her Parzivâl,
P offers to joust with D	F	289	der begunde ouch stechens begern.
Both lances broken	N	290-92	des wurden aber zwein spern an ir ende gewant: diu zerbrâchen si zehant
Both protagonists keep their seat		293	und gesâzen beide vaste.

Artus v. Matur
(2959-3081)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
A's army prepares		2959-60	Nû bereite sich ze were des küniges Artûses here
M expected to arrive on field		2961-64	in was von sagene kunt daz dar quæme in kurzer stunt der künic Matûr geriten.
Many knights beg for honour of joust with M; A refuses and claims own right to fight M. Knights react.		2965-91	
M approaches	E	2992-93	zehant sâhen sie komen den künic Matûr geriten.
Description of M (physical)	C	2994-3003	
M lowers his lance	H	3004	daz sper er under den arm sluoc,
M spurs his horse forwards	I	3005-06	daz ros er mit den sporn nam unz er in die rehten mâze quam
A charges	J	3007	Dô erspranete der künic Artûs,
Description of A's charge *(acoustic)*		3008-09	daz man hôrte den sûs als ein weter dâhin gevarn.
Description of A's armour	C	3010-11	
Description of A (mental)	D	3012-17	sîn herze vor fröude spilte daz er in versuochen solde der in ze manne wolde und sînes landes hâte gegert. ob er der êren wære wert, daz wolde er zehant erfarn.
Protagonists skilled		3018-19	sie kunden beide wol bewarn daz in die stiche niht enlogen.
Protagonists charge at each other	J	3020	sie quâmen alsô dar geflogen,
Protagonists strike each other with lances	K	3021	dô sie ûf ein ander stâchen,
Both saddles (saddle-girths) break		3022	daz die setel beide brâchen.

Both protagonists unseated	V	3023-25	des entweich in diu habe und fuoren beide hinden abe und gestuonden ûf der erden.
Description of protagonists (physical)	C	3026	dô liezen sie schîn werden
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	3027	wes sie beide gerten.
A and M exchange blows	R	3028-32	sie huoben mit den swerten den aller groesten strît den man bî ir zît von zwein mannen ie gesach. wie man slac mit slage rach!
Description of protagonists (physical)	C	3033	sie wâren beide manhaft. sie zeigten kunst unde kraft mit dem lîbe und mit den swerten.
A and M defend themselves with shields		3036-37	die wîle die schilte werten, dâmite kunden sie sich wol bewarn.
Both shields destroyed	Z	3038-40	sie mohten aber niht gesparn, sien würden ir schiere alsô blôz daz in niht beleip eines hâres grôz.
Protagonists destroy each other's armour	Z	3041-45	sît der schilte ein ende wart, sô wart dâ lenger niht gespart weder helm noch halsperc. daz erwelte stahelwerc gerieten sie dô schrôten
A and M exchange blows	R	3046-497	und begunden ein ander nôten ein vil lange stunde,
A and M evenly matched		3048-49	daz nieman wizzen kunde weder ir dâ hæte daz bezzer teil.
A is fortunate		3050	nû geviel dem künic Artûse ein heil,
A strikes M through the helm	AA	3050-52	daz er den künic Matûr sluoc durch den helm en er truoc,
Sword-blow strikes M's skull	AE	3053	daz ez im ûf der swarten widerwant.
M strikes A	S	3054-56	dâ wider gap er im zehant einen sô freisen slâc, der sô sêre nider wac
A falls to his knees		3057	daz er quam ûf sîniu knie.
This has never before happened to A		3058	daz geschach dem künige Artûs nie.
A's reaction		3059	von diu wânders iemer sîn geschant
A springs up		3060	und spranc ûf al zehant.
A takes revenge for blow	A *variant*	3061	er brâhte ez im ze sûre
A strikes M	S	3062-63a	und gap dem künige Matûre ein slac...
A kills M	AF	3063b	... des er sîn ende nam,
M dies by misadventure		3064-65	als ez von ungelücke quam, dâ sich nieman vor behüeten mac
Reference back to fatal blow	AF	3066	er traf in in den êrren slac
A beheads M	AD	3067-69	und versneit in dâ sô harte daz sich daz houbet zarte und tôt viel ûf daz gras.
Narratorial summary of result	AF	3070-71	der künic Artûs genas, der künic Matûr was erslagen.
Onlookers react	AI	3072- 81	

Daniel v. anonymous knight
(4015-108)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D sees a/k approaching	E	4015-17	unz er begunde nâhen, dô sach er in vor im gâhen der in von sînen gesellen schiet.
Description of D (mental)	D	4018	sîn manheit im dô geriet
D charges at a/k	J	4019	daz er in vaste rante an.
a/k charges at D	J	4020	daz selbe tet im jener man.
D and a/k lower lances	H	4021-22	si neigten beide diu sper, Daniel hin und jener her.
D and a/k aim for each other's breasts		4023	si nâmen ein ander der brust war
D and a/k strike with lances	K	4024	und stâchen alsô vaste dar
Lances break	N	4025	daz diu sper niht lenger werten
D and a/k draw their swords	P	4026	sâ griffen sie zuo den swerten,
Shields and armour destroyed	Z	4027-28	sie zerhiuwen die schilte zehant, darnâch daz stehelîn gewant.
Combat is in deadly earnest		4029	ez gienc in nâch an daz leben.
D and a/k exchange blows	R	4030-34	ir ietweder begunde dem andern geben grôzer slege alsô vil, unz si erhuoben ein spil, daz ir deweder nie gewan sô grôze nôt von einem man.
Description of a/k (physical)	C	4035-36	der wider Daniel vaht, der hâte rîche maht,
a/k strikes D (repeatedly)	S *variant*	4037	daz tet er mit slegen schîn.
a/k wears *merwîp*'s skin which protects him from harm		4038-48	
D realises he cannot defeat a/k		4049-51	Dô Daniel wart innen daz er sîn niht gewinnen mit dem swerte kunde,
D fears for his life	W	4052-53	des vorhte er daz diu stunde verenden wolde sîn leben.
D strikes a/k repeatedly	S *variant*	4054-56	er begunde im solich slege geben die wol des tôdes knehte mohten sîn mit rehte
D unable to injure a/k		4057	wan daz er in niht versneit.
a/k strikes D repeatedly *(metaphor)*	S *variant*	4058-61	ouch galt er im die arbeit mit sô rîcher gülte daz er in niht enschülte, lepten sie noch beide.
The two would not have fought harder had they sworn to do so *(poss. ref. to element of judicial combat)*		4062-65	haeten sie mit eide die selben arbeit gelobet, sie endörften hân getobet herter denn sie tâten.
D and a/k put weight in their stirrups		4066	die stegereifen sie trâten,
D and a/k close again (horseback)	Y	4067	dô sie gegen ein ander sturnden
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	4068	(die zwêne wunder zürnden!)
D and a/k raise their swords	Q	4069	diu swert sie höhe ûfzugen,
D and a/k bend with their swords		4070-71	nâch den swerten sie sich bugen sêre mit des herzen kraft.
Description of protagonists (physical)	C	4072	sie wâren beide manhaft.

D strikes a/k	S	4073	Dô sluoc der ritter Daniel,
a/k's helm (and hauberk) split apart	AA *variant*	4074-76	daz sînem kampfgenôze enpfiel der halsperc und der helm in stucken nider in den melm.
a/k saved from injury by *merwîp*'s skin		4077-78	doch hâte er sîne hût an und was ein wol behuot man.
D and a/k dismount (by necessity)	V	4079a	si quâmen ze fuoz,...
Both horses have died		4079b-80	...daz tet in nôt, diu ros gelâgen beidiu tôt.
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	4081	sie hâten willen beide,
D and a/k exchange blows	R	4082-84	ir ietweder tet ze leide dem andern swaz er mohte, unz ez niht lenger tohte
D aware that he is in danger of death		4085	und Daniel den tôt entsaz.
D defends himself		4086-87	des werte er sich dester baz, wande er des lîbes gerte.
D strikes a/k	S	4088-89	er gap im mit dem swerte ûf daz houbet einen slac
a/k's morale affected	W	4090	dâvon er sô sêre erschrac
a/k falls at D's feet		4091	daz er für sîn füeze viel.
D takes a/k prisoner		4092	dô vienc im her Daniel
D questions a/k as to his companion's whereabouts		4093-95	und hiez in balde sagen ob er den grâven hacte erslagen oder waz im waere geschehen.
a/k remains silent		4096	nû enwolde er nihtes verjehen
a/k not injured		4097	unde was doch niht wunt,
D is disquieted by a/k's silence		4098-101	durch daz er zuo der stunt gesweic unde niht ensprach. diz was Daniele ungemach, daz er âne nôt was geswigen.
D leaves a/k		4102	er gie hin und liez in ligen
D threatens a/k		4103-08	

2.2 Combats against giants

Daniel v. first giant (G1)
(2751-844)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D approaches, and is questioned by G1	E, F *variant*	2751-54	Nû saz der rîse aber dort. diz was sîn êrstez wort, dô Daniel begunde nâhen, war er sô wolde gâhen.
Daniel responds	G *variant*	2755-56	Daniel sprach zehant: „durch den berc in daz lant."
G1 threatens D	F	2757-61	
D responds with threat	G	2762-64	
G1 stands up		2765	Der rîse spranc ûf ze berge
Description of G1 (physical)	C	2766-69	vil ungelîch einem getwerge was sîn lîp überal. Daniel von dem Blüenden Tal gelangte im kûme bis an diu knie.
G1 is unaware of the danger of		2770-73	nû enwart der rîse nie

weapons, since he is invulnerable to them			von deheinem wâfen wunt. von diu was im niht kunt ob er sich solde hüeten.
Description of G1 (mental)	D	2774-75	er begunde vor zorne wüeten, er gedâhte niht an sînen val.
D approaches (horseback)	E	2776-77	Daniel von dem Blüejnden Tal, der quam gegen im geriten.
G1 advances on foot		2778	dô quam der rîse her geschriten
Description of G1 (physical)	C	2779	die fûst er zornlîche truoc,
G1 strikes at D with his fist		2780	gegen Daniel er sluoc.
D lifts his sword to defend himself		2781-82	des nam er vil guote war unde habte das swert dar.
G1 is unconcerned		2783	daz was dem rîsen unwert.
G1 strikes sword with his fist		2784	mit grimme sluoc er an das swert,
Sword rings	T	2785	daz ez ein wênic erklanc
G1's hand and part of his arm are cut off	AE	2786-87	und im diu hant dorthin spranc und des armes wol der dritte teil.
This is the first time that G1 has been injured by a sword		2788-89	daz was daz erste unheil daz im von swerte ie beschach.
D taunts G1	U	2790-804	
G1 is distressed		2805	Nû was daz dem rîsen leit.
G1 prepares to throw a stone at D		2806-07	ze einem grôzen steine er schreit und wolde in mit geworfen hân.
D closes with him (horseback)	Y	2808	dô lie Daniel dar gân
D cuts off G1's leg	AE	2809	und sluoc im abe daz bein.
G1 succeeds in throwing the stone nonetheless		2810-11	dannoch zôch er den stein und warf Daniele ûf dem schilt,
D's horse nearly sits back on its haunches		2812-13	daz in vil nâch hæte bevilt daz sîn ros under im nider saz.
G1 searches for a second stone to throw		2814-15	noch wolde er sich rechen baz und greif aber nâch einem steine.
G1 unable to balance on one leg		2816-17	dô mohte er ûf einem beine niht lenger gestân.
G1 sits down to defend himself		2818-19	er begunde sich nider lân und wolde sich sitzende wern.
God does not intend G1 to survive		2820-21	dô geruochte in got niht nern. des muoste er wesen unfrô.
D's horse recovers		2822-23	daz ros erholte sich dô dâ Daniel ûfe saz.
D closes with G1 (horseback)	Y	2824	er sprancte dar nâher baz
D cuts off G1's other arm	AE	2825	und sluoc im den andern arm abe.
G1 falls onto his back		2826-27	nû viel der ungefüege knabe ûf den rücke alein und hate niht wan ein bein.
G1 betrays his *unsite*		2829	des gewan er grôze unsite.
G1 kicks D's horse		2830-31	daz ros stiez er dâmite sô sêre an die sîten
D's horse is rolled over three times by the force of the blow		2832-33	daz ez sich in kurzen zîten überwarf wol drî stunt.
D is 'unwell' as a result of the fall	V *variant*	2834-36	Daniel was ungesunt vil nâch worden dâvon. er was der stürze niht gewon.
D is angered		2837	des wart er vil zornvar
D gets to his feet		2838	und huop sich ze fuoze dar
D decapitates G1	AD	2839	und sluoc im daz houbet abe.
D taunts fallen G1	AG	2840-44	

Daniel v. second giant (G2)
(3781-824)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D sees G2		3781	Daniel ersach den rîsen,
D announces intention to kill G2		3782-86	
D approaches G2 (horseback)	E	3814-15	sus reit der helt mære unz er hin zuo dem rîsen quam.
D takes sword in both hands		3816-17	mit beiden henden er nam daz guote swert daz er truoc.
D cuts off both of G2's legs at a stroke	AE	3818-19	dem rîsen er zeinem slage sluoc abe beidiu sîniu bein.
G2 falls to the ground	V *variant*	3820	des viel er nider als ein stein,
G2 cries out		3821-22	er schrei und luote, daz in sô starke muote,
D cannot bear the sound		3823	daz erz im niht vertruoc
D decapitates G2	AD	3824	und im ouch daz houbet absluoc.

2.3 Combats against monsters

Daniel v. Juran
(1493-738)

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D hears mass		1493	
D puts on his armour in preparation		1494-97	
D asks the lady of the Trüeben Berge to summon J		1498-507	
D considers how to overcome J using list		1508-12	
J approaches the castle	E	1513-15	Daz twerge sach er dort her gân, daz was geheizen Jurân. ez gie zuo dem bürgetor,
J and D agree to fight; J agrees to use an ordinary sword		1516-80	
Narratorial digression on Minne		1581-99	
J puts his magical sword aside		1600-16	
J draws a circle for the combat		1617-20	er gie her zuo dem burctor, dâ machete er einen kreiz vor darinne sie vehten solden, ob sie zesemen wolden.
D approaches	E	1621-23	Die porte sach man ûf getân. dô sach er zuo im gân Danielen von dem Blüenden Tal.
D gives J the choice of weapons		1624-26	er gap im zweier swerte wal. er nam daz im dâ baz geviel, daz ander nam her Daniel.
Protagonists enter the ring		1627	sie trâten beide in den rinc.
The castle gate is shut so that no-one can go out.		1628-31	

The combat begins		1632-33	die begunden manlîchiu werc beidiu sament wîsen.
D and J use their shields to defend them		1634-35	sie wolden daz îsen mit den schilden fristen.
D and J's shields are destroyed	Z	1636-39	dô gienc ez ûz den listen. ir slege wâren sô grôz daz sie der schilte wurden blôz in einer wêniger zît.
The combat is deadly		1640-44	dô wart ein sô getâner strît daz si des alle jâhen die ez hôrten unde sâhen, ir deweder möhte genesen, ez müeste ir beider tôt wesen.
Description of protagonists (mental)	D	1645a	mit grimme...
D and J ocuupy the circle		1645b	... bûten sie den kreiz.
Intention of protagonists		1646-47	ir ietweder sich vaste fleiz ûf des anderen tôt.
Fire springs from their helms		1648-49	daz fiur licht unde rôt sach man von den helmen springen
Swords ring	T	1650-51	dô diu swert begunden klingen diu sie in den henden truogen
D and J exchange blows	R	1652-53	und ûf die helme sluogen und ûf die halsperge.
Onlookers pray for right to prevail		1654-60	
J calls on the lady of the Trüeben Berge		1661-62	
J strikes D on the helm	S	1663-64	Danielen ez sluoc ûf den helm den er truoc,
J's sword breaks		1665	daz im sîn swert enzwei brast.
D strikes J	S	1666-67	dar under gap ouch im der gast einen freislîchen slac,
J falls to the ground	V	1668	daz ez ûf der erden glac.
D fails to injure J		1669-70	daz ez daz swert niht ensneit, daz was Danielen leit.
Description of J (mental)	D	1671	daz twerc was grimme unde karc
Description of J (physical)	C	1672	und was ouch âne mâzen starc.
J recovers and attempts to stand		1673-74	dô ez sich des slages erholde und wider ûf wolde,
D strikes J	S	1675	dô sluoc ez aber Daniel
J falls to his knees	V	1676	daz ez wider ûf diu knie viel,
D strikes J four times	S *variant*	1677-78	und gap im harte schiere grôzer slege wol viere.
D unable to pierce J's armour		1679-81	diz was wunders gnuoc. swie vil er ûf ez gesluoc, er versneit weder helm noch halsperc.
J leaps up		1682	
J runs for his magical sword		1683-87	
D pursues him		1688-90	
Narratorial digression on *wille* and *state*		1691-702	
D overtakes J		1703-04	
D takes the magical sword		1705	
D threatens J and orders him to surrender	U	1706-11	
J tries to take the sword from D		1712-19	
D moves out of reach		1720-21	
D orders J to surrender three more times		1722-24	

J remains silent and continues to try to take the sword		1725-26	
D decapitates J	AD	1727-33	unz erz gnuoc versuochte, daz ez niht geruochte lenger ze lebene, dô geruochte er im ze gebene mit dem swerte einen swanc daz im daz houbet dâ hin spranc und nie wort mê gesprach.
The lady of the Trüeben Berge gives thanks to God	AI	1734-37	
The gates are reopened		1738	

Daniel v. *bûchlôser vâlant*
(1977-2134)

Preliminaries: 1977-2016: Daniel formulates the list of the mirror and bids farewell to the lady of the Liehten Brunnen.

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
D knocks on the castle door and calls		2017-24	
b/v demands to know who is there; D responds without giving his name		2025-52	
b/v threatens D		2053-64	
b/v's fate (and anger) lead him to act	D	2065-66	diu unsælde in betwanc daz er vil zornlîche ûf spranc.
b/v takes up the Gorgon head		2067	daz houbet er an die hant gevienc
b/v approaches the castle door, uttering threats	E, F *variant*	2068-69	gegen der porten er gienc mit grôzen drôworten.
D hears his approach		2070	daz hôrte er vor der porten
D acts wisely		2071	und warp als die wîsen tuont.
D leaves his horse in safety		2072-74	ein linde vor der burge stuont an einem anger her dane, dâ hafte er sîn ors ane.
D uses the *list* of the mirror		2075-79	eines listes er sich under want: er nam den spiegel in die hant, als in sîn wîsheit lêrte, sînen rücken er kêrte rehte gegen dem bürgetor.
b/v approaches (comes out of the castle)	E *variant*	2080-83	dâ stuont er unlange vor unz ez wart ûf getân. dô begunde er dort her ûz gân der diu liute âne wâfen sluoc.
b/v carries the Gorgon head		2084-85	daz houbet er in der hand truoc dâvon in der tôt geschach.
D watches *b/v* in the mirror		2086-89	Daniel in dem spiegel sach wie er sîn dinc ane vienc, und wâ er dort her gienc, wie er daz houbet für sich bôt.
Deadly effect of the head		2090-91	er wære selbe dâvon tôt hæte erz vornen gesehen an,
b/v's intention to kill D		2092-93	nû truoc erz vor im dan und wolde den tiurlîchen helt mit dem tôde hân gekelt.
D watches *b/v* in the mirror		2095	daz sach er in dem spiegel wol.
Description of D (mental)	D	2096-97	des was sîn herze fröuden vol,

			daz dûhte in harte sæleclîch
D approaches *b/v* backwards	E *variant*	2098-100	und gienc vil balde hinder sich unz er dar quam gegangen daz er in trûte erlangen.
b/v is doomed		2101	er wart des tôdes gewert.
D draws his sword	P	2102-05	Daniel zuckte daz swert, daz er ze dem Trüeben Berge vor dem küenen twerge alsô manlîche erspranc,
D strikes *b/v* (variant – sword-blow struck behind D's back)	S *variant*	2106	und tet hinder sich einen swanc.
D cuts *b/v*'s legs off	AE	2107-09	er schancte im eine minne und sluoc im under dem kinne diu bein sament enzwei.
b/v falls to the ground	V	2110a	des viel er nider...
b/v calls for help		2110b-2116	... unde schrei mit michelem grimme ein freislîche stimme er begunde ruofende sagen den sînen, er wære ze tôt erslagen, daz sie balde quæmen und daz houbet næmen.
D notes his position in the mirror		2117-19	dô er diu wort gesprach, Daniel in dem spiegel sach wâ er lac mit ungehabe,
D cuts off *b/v*'s hand, disarming him	AE	2120 - 21	und sluoc im ouch die hant abe dâ er daz houbet inne hâte.
D picks up the Gorgon head carefully		2122-24	daz huop er ûf vil drâte. er huop ez vornen hindan und sach niht wan hinden dran.
Description of D (mental)	D	2125-26	daz erz houbet gewan, des was er ein frô man.
D taunts *b/v*	U	2127-32	
D shows *b/v* the Gorgon head		2133-34a	daz houbet er im dar bôt unz erz gesach,...
b/v dies		2134b	...dô lac er tôt.

Daniel v. *sieche*
(4563-800)

Preliminaries: 4563-636: Daniel suggests his first plan: he will stop his ears with wax so that he cannot be hypnotised by the *sieche*. The lady of the Grüenen Ouwe forestalls him by telling him what happened to the knight who attempted this before.

4637- 714: Daniel despairs of finding a way to defeat the *sieche* and offers to sacrifice himself with the other victims. The lady forbids this and threatens to do the same herself.

4715-69: Daniel decides to attempt to attack the *sieche*, and conceals himself among the victims. He mimics their actions in order to hide himself from the *sieche*.

Actions	*Motifs*	*Line Numbers*	*Quotes*
s leads his victims to the *büten*		4770-75	
D accompanies them		4776-77	dô lief enmitten under in Daniel vom Blüenden Tal.
D uses *list* to conceal himself		4778	mit listen er sich vaste hal,
Description of D (mental)	D	4779	doch tet erz mit sorgen.
D carries his sword hidden		4780-81	sîn swert truoc er verborgen

under his clothes			under sînem gewande alsô bar.
D and the victims approach	E *variant*	4782	vil schiere quâmen sie dar.
s prepares to stab his first victim		4783-91	
D creeps behind *s*		4792-94	in der selben unmuoze sleich Daniel hinder im zuo, weder ze spâte noch ze fruo,
D decapitates *s*	AD	4795	und sluoc im ab daz houbet.
D's motivation		4796-99	
Narratorial summary		4800	sus was verendet sîn baden.

Appendix 3: Summaries of the battles in *Karl*

3.1 First battle

First battle: preparations

4085-700	Roland sees Marsilie's army approaching. The Christians prepare themselves. The Saracens decide on the order of attack.
4701-78	Olivier asks Roland to blow his horn to summon Karl; Roland refuses.
4779-848	Turpin blesses the Christian forces and a voice from heaven assures them that they are forgiven their sins.
4849-54	Roland sends Walther with 1000 men to guard the hillside to ensure that they are not attacked from there.
4855-70	Each of the Twelve takes 1000 men, leaving 7000, of which each of the twelve takes 550. The 400 who remain under Alrich of Normandy are ordered to act as reinforcements for any *schar* which needs help.
4871-924	Roland decides on tactics: if all the Saracens charge at once then each Christian *schar* is to form an outwards-facing circle centred on its leader so that their formation cannot be broken. On the other hand, if the Saracens send in one *schar* after another, then they will face each *schar* with one Christian *schar* to give the others a chance to rest. Roland warns his men that if they let any Saracens through, they will have to pay dearly for it.

Phase 1

Engagement 1

4965-5230	Alderot leads the first *schar* onto the field. Roland kills Alderot. Both forces charge and battle is joined. Roland kills Carpin. The Saracens converge on Roland but his *schar* comes to his aid. The Christians cut down the whole Saracen *schar*. Roland and his men cut down the Saracens' idols.

Engagement 2

5231-84	Falsaron leads the second *schar*. Olivier kills Falsaron. The Christians kill 6000 Saracens with lances. Tortan kills Orten. Maximin kills Tortan. Melée combat. Ilmar kills Marzille. The Christians break through the Saracens' lines. The Saracens flee; the Christians pursue. All Saracens except one are killed. Olivier kills last Saracen.

Engagement 3

5385-508	Kursables leads the third *schar*. Turpin kills Kursables. Kridos takes up the Saracen banner but is killed by Valram. The Christians slowly reduce the Saracen numbers. God sends a wind to refresh the Christians. All Saracens are killed; the Christians lose 64 men.

Engagement 4

5509-56	Malprimes leads the fourth *schar*. Gergis kills Malprimes and Ciceron. Close quarters. The Christians gather into close formation and break through the Saracen lines. All Saracens are killed; the Christians lose 71 men.

Engagement 5

5557-608	Murafel leads the fifth *schar*. Egeris kills Murafel and Brutan and fells the Saracen banner twice. Muralan takes up the banner. The Saracens are killed; the Christians lose 87 men.

Engagement 6

5609-64	Amirat leads the sixth *schar* onto the field. Samson kills Amirat. The Christians charge at the Saracens and kill all of them. The Christians lose 108 men.

Engagement 7

5665-782	Targis brings the seventh *schar* onto the field. His force includes 1000 archers. Ansis kills Targis. The Christians charge at the Saracens and kill many. The archers cause many casualties to the Christians but are also killed. All the Saracens are killed; the Christians lose 308 men.

Engagement 8

5783-870	Eschermunt leads on the eighth *schar*, carrying the banner himself. Engelher kills Eschermunt. The Saracens lift up their banner again and encircle the Christians. The Christians defend themselves and kill many Saracens. The Christians lose 108 men.

Engagement 9

5871-970	Hatte is the ninth Christian leader to face the Saracens. The ninth *schar* is led by Estrogant, who carries his banner. Hatte kills Estrogant. The Christians attack the Saracens with lances and then swords. The Christians' luck begins to turn. The Saracens reform and renew their attack. The Christians lose 410 men and are forced to give ground. Alrich von Normendin comes to their aid and all the Saracens are killed.

Engagement 10

5971-6020	Stahelmariez leads the tenth *schar* onto the field. Bernger kills Stahelmariez. The Saracens defend themselves. All the Saracens are killed; not one Christian has been killed or fatally injured.

Phase 2

Engagement 11

6021-226	Cernoles and Margriez lead on the eleventh and twelfth *scharen* at once. Roland orders all of the Christian force to face them. Roland kills Cernoles. Olivier wounds Margriez and he flees. The Christians and Saracens joust. Samson kills Schrapalon. All the Saracens are killed, but the Christians have lost 1200 men.

6227-78	Margriez reports back to Marsilies on the outcome of the engagements. The Saracens have lost all their twelve *scharen* but the Christians are so tired and wounded that they cannot survive. The Saracens would have won except for the fact that the Christians surprised them by sending a great *halschar* (hidden *schar*) of their best knights against them.

6279-318	Marsilies mourns and resolves to avenge his brother and son. The Saracens still have 400 000 men and they divide these into four *scharen* each of 100 000 men.
6319-53	Roland sees the first *schar* approaching and encourages his men to fight bravely. If the Saracens get the better of the Christians at the first encounter they will be very unlikely to withdraw. Roland and his men make confession and pray.

Engagement 12

6354-526	The Saracens charge. Samson is killed by an anonymous Saracen. Roland kills the anonymous Saracen. Ansis is killed by Albrich; Turpin kills Albrich. Gergis, Bernger and two others of the twelve are killed by Granton. Roland kills Granton. Olivier kills Kartan. Turpin breaks through the Saracen lines killing many. Some Saracens flee.

6527-71	The fleeing Saracens beg Marsilies for aid. He calls together all the other Saracen leaders and takes the field himself.

Engagement 13

6572-659	Abis leads the Saracen *schar* and carries the banner. The Saracens attempt to trample the Christians but the Christians hold them off with spears. Turpin kills Abis. There is a great slaughter and many Saracens cease to defend themselves and are killed by their own side for cowardice.

Engagement 14

6660-722	A second Saracen *schar* enters the valley, concealed in order to catch the Christians off-guard. Roland charges at them. Malsaron, the leader, turns to flee. Olivier kills Malsaron, Turke, Esturke and Justine. The Christians pursue the fleeing Saracens. Turpin kills Sigelot. Roland kills all the Saracens he pursues.

6723-32	The Christians regroup in the valley.
6733-89	A single Saracen reports back to Marsilie. Marsilie mourns and decides to send the third *schar* of 100 000 men under the command of Tibors, with the banner entrusted to him and to Valbin. Marsilies warns his men that if any of them flee they will be killed.
6790-862	Turpin sees the approaching *schar* and warns the Christians to prepare for death. The Christians make confession and exchange the peace.

Engagement 15

6790-7252	The Christians remount, take up their banners and find a suitable place to make their stand. Tibors carries the banner and leads the *schar* forward. Engelher is killed by Tibors. Olivier kills Tibors and Valbin. and a further five Saracen leaders The Christians charge. Any wounded are killed with lances. Christian bodies begin to pile up on the ground; the Saracens sink and drown in the blood. The Christians become very weary and lose heart. Roland makes a sortie and kills 200 Saracens. Roland blows his horn: Karl hears it and turns back. The sound of the horn renders the Saracens senseless and the Christians are able to overcome them.

7253-78	Marsilie hears the horn. Only three of the Twelve are left and he realises that Roland must now believe the day is lost.

Engagement 16

7279-440	Marsilie leads his last *schar* onto the field. His banner is entrusted to Alfabin and Ebelin. This *schar* is made up of Marsilie's best men. Roland intends to kill Marsilie himself. The two forces charge. Olivier, Turpin, Gerhart, Ive and Pegon all kill many Saracens. Roland kills Alfabin and Ebelin and searches for Marsilie. Turpin and Olivier also search for Marsilie. Gerhart, Ive, Pegon and Tegion are killed by Marsilie. Roland kills Jorfalier. Turpin and Olivier fell the Saracen banner. Roland wounds Marsilie, who flees. There are only 61 Christians left alive.

Engagement 17

7441-8232	The Christians prepare themselves. The last two Saracen kings approach with their *scharen*. Olivier kills Algariez but is severely injured. He continues to fight but shortly has to retreat from the fighting. He attempts to return but can no longer see and has to give up. Saracens surround him and stab him to death with their lances. Walther returns from the hillside where Roland sent him. All of his 1000 men have been killed. Roland, Turpin and Walther are the only Christians left alive. The Saracens encircle them and attack them with arrows and thrown javelins, killing Walther. The Saracens separate Roland from Turpin. Turpin is wounded. Roland continues to fight on. 100 Saracens charge at him in an attempt to ride him down, but without success. Turpin remounts and is ready to fight. Roland blows his horn once more. The Saracens kill Roland's horse and encircle him, however, Turpin breaks through their ranks and clears a space. The Saracens retreat and again attack with arrows and thrown javelins, killing Turpin's horse. Roland blows his horn once more. The Saracens flee. Roland recovers the bodies of the others of the twelve. Turpin dies. Roland kills an anonymous Saracen who attempts to steal his sword. Roland dies.

3.2 Second battle

Second battle: preparations

8941-9092	Karl turns back towards Ronceval to bury the Christian dead. Messengers come from Paligan demanding that Karl acknowledge Paligan as his liege lord. Karl refuses and challenges Paligan to come to battle. Karl spreads the news of the encounter through his men.
9093-104	Karl and his men arm themselves. Karl rides to inspect his men; there are 200 000.
9105-280	Karl entrusts 20 000 of his best men to Wineman and Rapote, to whom he also gives (respectively) Roland's sword and horn. He speaks to each of the other leaders and encourages them.
9315-68	Gotfrid takes Karl's banner. Karl prays.
9369-80	Karl remounts and rides out. The Christians blow their horns.
9381-90	Karl has his knights pull his beard through the rings of his mail as a 'zeichen'. His men follow suit.
9391-422	Paligan has had a spy among the Christians and he now makes a report of all the Christians are doing.
9423-36	Paligan is unimpressed and announces the Saracen battle-cry ('zeichen'): *Preciosa*.

9437-41	The Saracens approach until each army can see the other, and then arm themselves.
9442-46	There are 200 Saracens to each Christian.
9447-68	Paligan arms himself and mounts.
9469-630	Paligan's son demands to lead the *vorvehten*. Paligan agrees. Paligan divides his army into two parts. Twenty *scharen* go to his son, accompanied by Kurlens and

	Clappamor, two experienced leaders. He keeps ten *scharen* under his own command. Paligan orders that any man who flees from the combat will be hanged.
9631-66	Paligan's banner is set up. The Saracens pray to it as an idol.

Engagement 18

9684-733	The first clash: on the Saracen side is Paligan's son and on the Christian side the Swabians. The two forces ride forwards and call out their battle-cries. They blow their horns. Malprimes and Gerolt fight but are separated by the press. Gerolt and his men cut down the Saracens.

Engagement 19

9734-54	The Saracens send out a second *schar* to come to the aid of their first. Karl responds by riding out himself with his men. Jousts. Gotfrid kills a Saracen king. Many Saracens are killed.

Engagement 20

9755-10015	The rest of the Christian army also advances. The remaining 18 Saracen *scharen* also advance. The Saracens encircle the Christians and charge in on them. The Christians halt, turn their lances outwards and charge out to meet them. They are encircled completely but the Saracens cannot break through. Wineman kills many Saracens. The Lothringians, Burgundians, Bretons and Normans all fight well. Richard of Normandy kills a Saracen king and other Saracens. Gebewin and his English knights also fight well. The Flemish and Frisians fight well. Ogier of Denmark and his Saxons fight well. Naymis of Bavaria kills many Saracens. The Rhenish Christians fight well. The Saracens attempt to break the Christians' lines. The Christians give no ground and are relatively secure behind a bulwark of Saracen bodies. Two Saracen kings attempt a sortie and attack Naymis and his men with large numbers. Naymis fights the king of Persia and is almost overcome. Karl and the Bavarians come to his aid. Karl kills the king of Persia but his followers will not retreat. There is great slaughter on both sides, but the Saracens have the worst of it.

10016-34	One Saracen survives and reports to Paligan that his best men have all been killed.
10035-66	Paligan is advised to take the field himself as Karl is doing to demonstrate that he is not afraid.
10067-73	Paligan's aim is to break through the Christian lines in as many places as possible.
10074-76	Paligan has some of his knights ride out and find where Karl himself is fighting.

Engagement 21

10082-332	Paligan rides into the fray with 10 *scharen*. Karl sees the Saracens approach. Paligan kills Rapote. Karl kills Paligan. The Saracens lose heart and flee. Karl and his army pursue and kill the fleeing Saracens.

Appendix 4: Summaries of the battles in *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal*

First battle

2891-991	The banner is taken from statue as a signal. Artus's army prepares for battle.
2992-3090	Matur appears alone. Artus defeats and kills Matur in single combat. Matur's first army arrives, and charges, angered by their leader's death. Artus's knights also charge. There are jousts during which lances are broken. Men are killed.
3091-145	Mêlée with swords. Daniel's prowess is noted.
3146-322	The second giant fights fiercely, and is blinded by Artus's knights using bows and missiles. He continues to rage, and Artus's knights attempt to kill him, but finding him invulnerable, then flee him. Kei mocks the other knights and charges at the giant, but is seized by the leg and lifted from his horse. The giant attempts to strike at the other knights with Kei, but Kei slips out of his hand and falls through the branches of a tree to the ground.
3323-82	The giant continues to fight, crushing knights under his feet. He singlehandedly defeats all of Artus's knights except for Daniel who is elsewhere among Matur's men, hemmed in. and out of reach of the rest of Artus's army. Matur's knights attack him with spears and bows, but he defends himself.
3383-405	Artus's knights flee from the giant into the mass of Matur's knights and the giant pursues them. If he seizes one of Artus's knights, the knight claims to be one of Matur's men and the giant releases him.
3406-507	Artus's schar attacks Matur's and the battle now begins in earnest. The giant remains confused. Mêlée combat ensues; heat and fatigue begin to take their toll.
3508-698	Artus and his knights press forward. Artus, Gawein, Iwein and Parzival all press forward. Artus sees Daniel through the press and goes to his aid. Daniel sees him approaching and cuts his way through Matur's knights until he reaches Artus.
3699-824	Artus explains the danger posed by the giant. Gawein suggests that Daniel could kill this giant as he did the first. Artus orders Daniel to do so. Daniel cuts his way back through the press and kills the giant.
3825-58	Artus and his knights are heartened by the giant's fall and return to the fight, encircling Matur's army. Matur's knights, seeing their losses, surrender and give themselves into Artus's power.
3859-96	Artus's army encamps as Daniel advises.

Second battle

5000-29	The banner is taken from the statue to signal to Matur's approaching second army. Daniel arrives with his companions.
5030-47	Matur's second army arrives. Artus's knights mount and seize their lances and shields, then charge. There are jousts, and lances are broken.
5048-232	Mêlée with swords. Artus leads his army through Matur's knights, cutting a path through them. Gawein, Iwein and Parzival fight. Daniel and his companions also fight. There is a mêlée, in which the two forces are mixed together.
5233-65	After a long while, Daniel meets Artus and his knights in the press; they join forces and drive through the press together.
5266-72	Matur's knights are forced to surrender, seeing their losses, and give themselves up.
5273-74	Artus's army encamps

Third battle

5380-97	The banner is taken from the statue to signal to Matur's approaching third army. Matur's army arrives, and charges. Artus's knights also charge, and the two forces joust. Many die.
5398-415	Mêlée ensues. Daniel and the Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen and his followers ride through the press.
5416-22	Matur's army surrenders.
5423	Artus's army encamps.
5424-67	News of the three defeats has spread throughout Cluse. All Matur's remaining knights (the four remaining armies) present themselves to Matur's widow and prepare themselves for battle. They arrive on the fourth morning since Artus first entered Cluse.

Fourth battle

5448-67	Matur's remaining forces arrive and ride towards Artus, joyful at the chance to take revenge for Matur's death. There are four times as many as Artus has faced in each of the preceding battles.
5468-80	Artus and his men ride to meet them. Both sides spur on their horses and charge. Jousts ensue, and lances are broken.
5481-552	Mêlée with swords ensues, many are killed. The heat is oppressive.
5553-681	Daniel rides through the press, cutting down Matur's knights. The Graf von dem Liehten Brunnen does likewise. Artus's knights follow their king through the press, killing many. Artus himself kills many knights.
5682-92	The battle continues until nightfall, and all are exhausted. A *fride* is agreed.
5693-708	The armies encamp. Matur's knights do not wish to leave the field, since they are sure of victory once they have rested.

5715-57	Artus takes counsel. Daniel suggests his plan to overcome Matur's men without killing them. He suggests that Artus's men stop their ears and use the sound of the statue's cry to stun Matur's knights, and force them to surrender.

Fourth battle - conclusion

5760	The *fride* is lifted.
5761	Matur's men ride towards Artus's knights.
5762-91	Artus's men take the banner from the statue, and its cry stuns Matur's knights; they fall helpless from their horses. They are forced to surrender and give up their arms. The banner is returned to the statue. Matur's knights swear allegiance to Artus.

5880-91	Artus remains on the field for 3 days and 3 nights after winning the victory, as this is customary. If anyone claiming the victory were to leave the field before 3 days and nights had passed, he would be said to have run away (hence forfeiting the victory).